

THE MILITANT

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Socialists fight for right to protect privacy of campaign contributors

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Miners at rally in Britain stand up for their union

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

DURHAM, England—Thousands of miners and their families and supporters rallied at the 106th Durham miners' gala July 14. They warmly applauded speeches from National Union of Mineworkers President Arthur Scargill, NUM North-East Area General Secretary Davey Hopper, Labour Member of Parliament Dennis Skinner, and the general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees, Rodney Bickerstaffe.

Speakers at the annual event are decided by ballot vote of the NUM members in the area. Also on the platform were Bill Morris, deputy general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, 15 Labour MPs, and a number of other prominent labor movement figures. Their presence was particularly important in light of recent attacks on the NUM and its leaders, which have escalated over the past two weeks.

Newspaper headlines have demanded a police inquiry into the union and have smeared NUM leaders Arthur Scargill and Peter Heathfield. A string of articles and television and radio news reports have sought to discredit the International Miners' Organisation, of which the NUM is a leading affiliate.

A union-commissioned inquiry under lawyer Gavin Lightman had refuted the original set of allegations: that Scargill and Heathfield had used money from Libya and the Soviet Union for their own personal gain. The media then changed tack, arguing that money donated from miners in the Soviet Union to the NUM had been diverted to the IMO for

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Eastern in deep trouble, admits company trustee



Militant/Judy Stranahan

Martin Shugrue, Eastern's court-appointed trustee, at July 13 news conference. And strikers and supporters at La Guardia Airport in New York the next day.

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

NEW YORK — "I've taken a realistic look at Eastern's revenue projections and obviously 1990 will produce a substantial loss to the company," said Martin Shugrue, trustee for Eastern Airlines at a July 13 news conference held at the Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza.

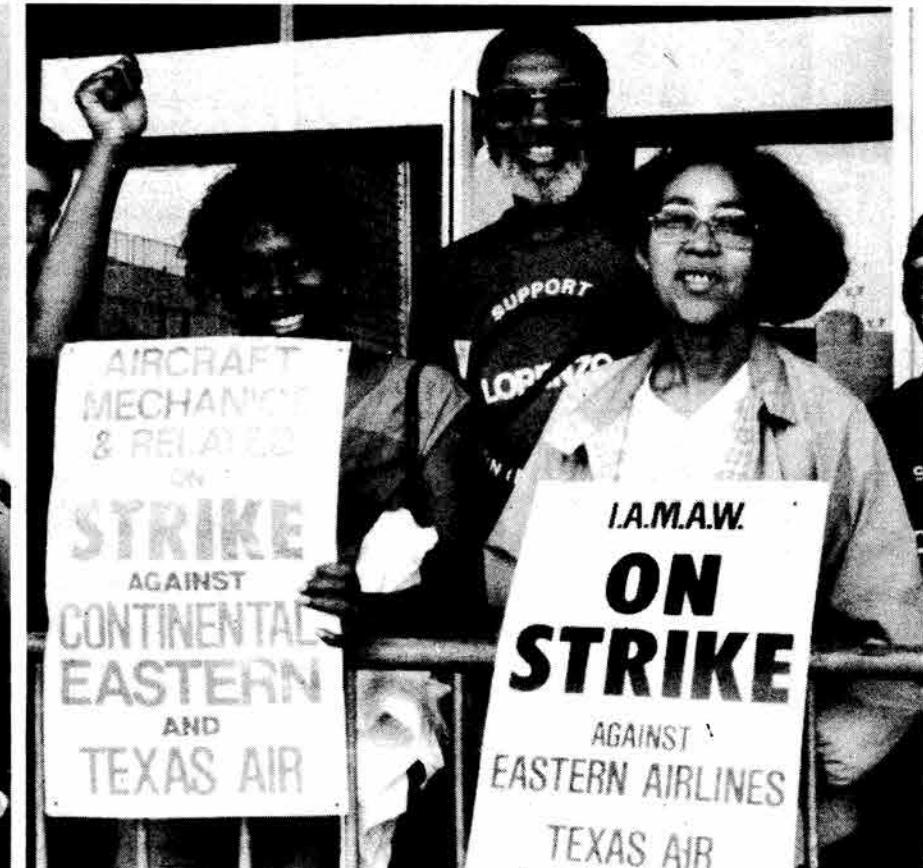
Shugrue, who was appointed trustee by the bankruptcy court on April 18 to protect the \$1 billion investment of Eastern's unsecured creditors, had just come from a meeting of the creditors' committee. There he reportedly projected a 1990 loss below the carrier's 1989 deficit of \$852.3 million. Airline industry analysts estimate the 1990 loss could

reach \$500 million.

At the same time, trying to maintain an upbeat posture, Shugrue explained he also told the creditors that Eastern could turn a profit in 1991, although he gave no specific information on how that would happen.

Shugrue leaned heavily on "facts" that show the situation for Eastern is improving. "The fact of the matter is we complete 99 percent of our flights every day. The fact of the matter is that we are the number one carrier in this country in on time performance last month... The fact is our customer satisfaction is way up." Asked if the news conference was really a commercial, Shugrue replied, "Of course this is a commercial.

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Militant/Roni McCann

Mohawks hold back Québec cop attack

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO
AND ROSEMARY RAY

OKA, Québec — Early on July 11 a squad of about 100 heavily armed Sûreté du Québec (Québec Provincial Police) officers moved in to tear down barricades erected in March by Mohawk Indians. The police launched a barrage of bullets, tear gas, and concussion grenades at the Mohawks behind the barricades at the Kanesatake settlement near Oka, a village of 1,500 people about 30 miles northwest of Montréal.

The Mohawks, armed to defend their land and their rights, fought back, forcing the cops to retreat. Police officer Marcel Lemay was caught in the crossfire and killed. The cops were also forced to abandon some half dozen police cars and one bulldozer, which the Mohawks used to set up two new barricades on Route 344. Police then erected their own barricades several hundred yards from each of the new Mohawk barricades.

Since then they have been reinforced by over 1,000 heavily armed provincial police and several hundred Royal Canadian Mounted Police. On July 17 the Canadian army confirmed that it is preparing to intervene to break through Mohawk barricades.

When Mohawks on the Kahnawake reserve on Montréal's south shore learned of the police invasion of Kanesatake, they immediately moved to set up a blockade closing down the Mercier bridge. This key traffic artery leading to the island on which the city of Montréal is located still remained closed as of July 17.

In response, a Québec Provincial Police force of 500 has surrounded the Kahnawake

reserve, blocking it from the outside world.

Natives at Kanesatake set up their barricades in the pine forest adjacent to the Oka golf course after the city council refused to back off of plans to expand the present nine-

hole golf course onto Native land that contains a burial ground sacred to the Mohawk people. Mohawk efforts to assert their claim to the disputed area date back to 1717. The

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Socialist petitioning for ballot spot gets good start

BY RONI McCANN

NEW YORK — The first day of a three-week drive to collect 30,000 signatures to put socialist candidates on the ballot here was a success with campaign supporters gathering 5,307 names — 1,307 over their goal for the day.

Eighty-eight petitioners fanned out in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, and Long Island July 14 to collect signatures needed to

7,599 signatures collected so far in petitioning drive for New York socialist candidates

win ballot status for Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor Craig Gannon. The SWP ticket for the state elections also includes Susan Anmuth for lieutenant governor, Aaron Ruby for comptroller, and Derek Bracey for attorney general. Selva Nebbia and Cathy Sedwick are SWP candidates for U.S. Congress in the 15th and 11th districts.

Supporters from New Jersey and Pennsylvania came in for the day's activities, which included staffing the campaign headquarters in Brooklyn and Manhattan, helping out on

the paperwork involved with the petitioning effort, and preparing for evening forums that featured SWP candidate for U.S. Congress Selva Nebbia and SWP member and union garment worker Anna Schell speaking on "The fight for human rights in the 1990s."

Young socialists

Also mobilized for the campaign effort were members of the Young Socialist Alliance, including several who were petitioning for the first time. Rena Sitrin, a student at Bard College in upstate New York, and Matt Ainsworth, from State University of New York at Purchase, are both in the city for the summer helping with the petitioning effort.

"It's a great way to initiate political discussions with people," said Sitrin. She and Ainsworth explained that YSA members were calling friends to join the campaign and both felt they could win new members to the revolutionary youth organization through the campaign effort.

Luis, who met the YSA during the Nelson Mandela tour, petitioned for the first time and gathered 75 signatures. "For me it was good to talk to workers. Many want a change

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Militant/Roni McCann
Campaign volunteer signs up a New Yorker during big Saturday effort.



"Tocando Rumba" by Cuban photographer Héctor Delgado Pérez, whose work is on display in New York.

Havana carnival is theme of visiting Cuban artist

BY SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK — During the month of July, the Lobby Showcase Gallery at La Guardia Community College in Queens is featuring the works of Cuban photographer Héctor Delgado Pérez.

Delgado, 40, currently works as a photo journalist for the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC), in Havana. He has been UNEAC's official photographer since 1982. A cultural organization, UNEAC draws together Cuba's most prestigious graphic and performance artists, as well as writers.

The Cuban photographer is in New York to work on a book on the Havana carnival.

He has specialized in photographing the carnival, and his photographs will be the basis of the book.

"The carnival is the largest people's celebration that takes place in the city," Delgado pointed out. It goes on for about 10 days and occurs around the time of the July 26 celebration. July 26 commemorates the date in 1953 of the attack on the Moncada Garrison by rebel forces led by Fidel Castro. This action opened the Cuban revolutionary struggle that won victory in 1959.

Carnival is a cultural expression of Cuba's African roots, explained Delgado. "It has its origins way back when Blacks were brought to Cuba as slaves by the Spanish colonizers. The different ethnic groups among the slaves, such as the Yorubas, the Carabali, the Harara, would perform their own dances and music once a year when the masters gave them time off."

The dominant culture was that of the Yorubas, explained the Cuban photographer. "The Yoruba culture was strongest because, on the one hand, they had been part of an empire in Africa but also because they were brought to Cuba in greater numbers than the others."

Delgado described the strong influence of the Yoruba culture in modern day Santería. Practiced today in Cuba, Santería represents

the fusing of the Catholic religion of the Spanish slave owners and the beliefs brought by the slaves from Africa.

"Before the revolution of 1959," Delgado noted, "Blacks held their carnival on Saturday night, and the whites, the bourgeoisie, held theirs on Sunday afternoon."

Today there is only one carnival, said Delgado, "Though about 80 percent of those who attend are Black."

Carnival is celebrated throughout the island, explained Delgado. "But the Havana carnival is unique in that unlike the others, it is basically a show that people come to watch, unlike, for example, the carnival in Santiago that involves more participation from the general public."

The Havana carnival consists of floats and *comparsas* from the different neighborhoods, as well as from different organizations, and dancing along the city's ocean-front highway for the public. Judges choose the best among them. The comparsa is made up of a band and a group of dancers that accompanies it.

"There are many traditional themes performed by the *comparsas*," explained Delgado. "The Comparsa del Alacrán, for example, depicts a sugar plantation slave owner whipping his slaves."

Over the past couple of decades, the Cuban government through the Ministry of Culture and other institutions has been trying to save many of the Cuban folk traditions that were being lost. "There are many research projects being promoted today to rescue our African heritage," Delgado pointed out. "Through my work I try to capture those traditions expressed in the carnival," he said, "especially those that relate to Santería."

"I think it's very important to recapture our Afro-Cuban traditions because it's in Cuba I believe, more than in any other Latin American or Caribbean country, that the folk traditions of the Black Africans are more evident."

Delgado's work has been shown in Cuba and internationally, where his photos have appeared in newspapers and journals in Venezuela, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. They have also been shown in galleries in Mexico and Canada, and have been used in posters and record jackets.

On July 28 at 5:00 p.m. the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural will host a reception for Delgado at the Pathfinder Bookstore, 191 7th Avenue (at 21st Street) in Manhattan.

Hours at the Lobby Showcase Gallery are from 9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. weekdays and from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on Saturday. The address is 31-10 Thomson Avenue, Long Island City (Queens). For more information call (718) 482-5709.

Cuban diplomat speaks in Vancouver

BY JOAN CAMPANA

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — One of the largest public meetings in years in solidarity with the Cuban revolution was held here June 22.

Standing under a banner that read "Defend Cuba's sovereignty," the consul general of Cuba in Toronto, Rolando Rivero, was greeted with a standing ovation by the 180 participants.

An action committee sponsored by the Vancouver Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association (CCFA) organized the meeting.

The program was opened by George Lai-Tomm, representing the African National Congress of South Africa. He emphasized the respect the ANC and Deputy President Nelson Mandela have for Cuba and its role in promoting the freedom struggle in southern Africa.

Outlining the gains made in Cuba since 1959, Rivero asked why the revolution should elicit such hatred from some quarters. "All it has done is give people pride, material well-being, the right to determine their own destiny, the right to decide on solutions to the problems of their country." And in this,

he explained, Cuba is a powerful example for all countries of the Third World.

"It is this example the U.S. government seeks to end."

But it is not the fighting people who are weak, he continued, but rather the U.S. government, despite all its force. "They are the defeated ones."

It was a theme Rivero developed in several of his talks given during his visit to Vancouver. The U.S. empire was defeated in Korea, Vietnam, and in Cuba in 1961, he said. Its puppet contra army was defeated on the battlefield by the people of Nicaragua. They could only invade Grenada because the revolution there was already overturned, "handed to them on a silver platter."

"The American army, with all its high technology, is a defeated, frustrated army. They are the defeated ones, because they are maintaining the apartheid regime in South Africa."

Cuba is "having to play a historic role," he explained, not only in the battle to defend Latin American sovereignty, but also in the defense of socialism.

You can count on the Cuban people, he

said. "We will not allow a single violation of our sovereignty. We will never have bosses again. Our women will never again be slaves. We know how to defend the most just cause that no people have struggled for more than the Cubans — the cause of socialism."

Greetings were also brought to the meeting by Roberto Avilez of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador Support Group, Scotty Neish of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, and Vancouver Alderperson Harry Rankin.

Written greetings were read from the Cuban ambassador to Canada and from the Vancouver and District Labour Council. Introduced from the platform were representatives of the Hospital Employees Union, Communist League, Revolutionary National Unity of Guatemala Support Group, and the Vancouver Chilean community.

The meeting was chaired by Peggy Chun, chairperson of the Vancouver CCFA. While in Vancouver, Rivero addressed four other gatherings, including two at Simon Fraser University. He was also welcomed at City Hall by Alderperson Libby Davies.

'Everybody should read the *Militant*. It has news of the strikes here, at Eastern, and of fights in other countries. To fight we need to learn about these struggles. To learn about these struggles we need to read the *Militant*.'

MANUEL CORTEZ
Third vice-president
United Farm Workers
of Washington State



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Agreement ends strike in Nicaragua

Strike marks round in gov't bid to push back revolution's gains

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The two-week strike that ended here July 12 marked another round in the attempts of the capitalist government to push back gains won by the country's workers and peasants.

The agreement ending the strike was negotiated by Daniel Ortega and other leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) with representatives of Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro. Later it was ratified by officials of the unions that had struck.

The settlement grants a 43 percent wage increase for state employees. It also includes an agreement to temporarily freeze the return of state farms to private ownership, except for 15 that will be rented to capitalist growers, a step toward their permanent return to private hands.

The agreement on the 15 state farms represents the first victory of the government in organizing the return of land confiscated in the early years of the revolution that came to power in 1979 back to its old owners. It was less, however, than that demanded by some capitalist farmers and businessmen, who urged Chamorro to proceed more rapidly to privatize state farms and criticized the president for not using force to break up picket lines and reopen struck enterprises.

Such a course was rejected by the Chamorro-Ortega bloc that dominates the coalition government. This bloc was strengthened in the course of the strike.

Since Chamorro took office in April, the government has lifted price controls and taken other measures that hit working people especially hard. Some of these were initiated in the last years of the previous FSLN-led government.

The government-set prices of basic services — electricity, phone, water, and mail — were sharply increased in June. This, combined with abrupt devaluations of Nicaraguan currency, has fueled inflation. Textile, garment, and metal-fabricating factories suffered massive layoffs beginning in May.

The government has faced resistance from workers, students, and peasants to its belt-tightening measures and has postponed some as a result.

When students and teachers protested the elimination of their free bus tokens in early July, the government backed down and restored the subsidy.

President Chamorro has also faced opposition by farm workers and peasants to two decrees issued in late May. One permits the rental of state farms to their previous capitalist owners. The second sets up a commission to authorize the return of confiscated land, factories, houses, and other properties.

Coalition government divided

The government is divided over how fast and how far to go in implementing these measures. It has been testing the waters to see what it can accomplish and how much resistance it will face.

FSLN representatives in the government have criticized some of the measures enacted by Chamorro, complaining that the decisions have been made without participation by the FSLN or the unions it leads.

A central objective of the strike from the FSLN leadership's standpoint was to pressure the Chamorro forces to give the FSLN greater say in government policy and to demonstrate the consequences if this was not done.

Another wing of the government, led by Vice-president Vigilio Godoy, has been pressuring Chamorro to dismiss the many FSLN supporters in the state apparatus and state-owned enterprises and to move faster in returning state-owned farms and businesses to private hands.

The Godoy forces are backed by the Supreme Council of Private Enterprise, (COSEP), an organization of capitalist landowners and some businessmen, and the Permanent Congress of Workers (CPT), made up of four union federations.

FNT strikes to win negotiations

In the middle of June the National Federation of Workers (FNT), a coalition of FSLN-led unions, raised 13 demands, including the need for a minimum wage, government fi-

nancing for state-owned enterprises, "job stability," and abolition of the two presidential decrees on land reform.

The government, however, refused to negotiate. In response the FNT called for a strike.

The walkouts began mainly in state-owned industry. The government continued to refuse to negotiate. The FNT then organized thousands of workers to shut down government ministries, banks, the state-owned telephone company, the airport, and ground transportation in Managua. Walkouts also occurred in other cities.

Workers at the government-owned television station locked the administration out briefly and broadcast news stories in support of the strike.

On July 8, with negotiations frozen, the FSLN and the FNT decided to demonstrate their strength by calling on supporters to organize barricades across the streets at scores of locations in Managua, paralyzing vehicle traffic for a day.

Many workers sympathized with the demands of the walkout. The strike activists themselves were primarily supporters of the FSLN.

Peasants' response to strike

Little effort was made to reach out to the countryside for support to the strike, despite the fact that opposition to the land decrees was one of the FNT's demands.

Militant reporters traveling in the northern mountains of Nicaragua encountered anti-strike sentiment on the part of some peasants, whose main information about the work stoppages came from anti-Sandinista radio stations. These falsely reported that strikers were carrying out violent assaults on other citizens, and that the goal of the strike was to overthrow the elected government headed by Chamorro.

The actual demands of the strikers — along with the frequent explanations by FNT and FSLN leaders that their goal was not to topple the government — received little mention.

Many peasants working on cooperatives or collective farms established under the previous FSLN-led government identified with the strike.

But to some poor peasants the walkouts seemed aimed at them, such as when striking farm workers barricaded the only road leading into San Juan del Rio Coco without discussing the measure first with neighboring peasants, who have to travel to San Juan regularly to bring produce to the market, purchase manufactured goods, and receive medical attention.

Residents of rural towns were also sharply divided, with supporters of the FSLN backing the strike but others often confused by reports on radio stations that a "civil war" had broken out in Managua. In the town of La Trinidad, for example, a widely circulated rumor was that strikers from the nearby city of Estelí were going to march on the town and seize the local hospital.

Violent clashes in Managua

To test the willingness of workers to join strike-breaking actions, the CPT organized a July 6 march opposing the work stoppage. Only 500 people participated, including anti-FSLN political activists, market vendors, housewives, and some workers from factories on strike.

"This strike has nothing to do with wages," charged Nieve Díaz, a sewing-machine operator at the Kikitex factory. "It's a political strike. When will the FSLN realize they lost the elections and let Doña Violeta carry out her program?"

The CPT, along with right-wing radio station Radio Corporación, attempted to organize groups of vigilantes to attack strike supporters.

Several blocks around the Radio Corporación offices served as a staging ground for



Militant/Seth Galinsky

A June 29 demonstration by farm workers in León, Nicaragua, protesting government move to turn state farms over to capitalists. Banner reads: "We'll die before we give back land to the Somocistas."

enemies of the strike: dozens of unemployed youth, merchants, former contras, and hardcore opponents of the 1979 revolution — some armed with pistols and gasoline bombs.

The armed bands attacked several strike centers, in some cases firing on workers. The strikers defended their picket lines and barricades. Four workers were killed and dozens injured during clashes.

Government threatens strikers

On the evening of July 9, President Chamorro threatened to use the police and the army to evict the strikers from the buildings they occupied.

Few attempts, however, were made by police in Managua to evict or arrest strikers. On July 10 bulldozers driven by police and soldiers did remove the barricades from the main thoroughfares. There was no resistance, however.

Vice-president Godoy announced at a July 10 press conference the formation of a "commission to save the nation." The group called for the government to take more decisive action against the strike and to "confront the activities of the FSLN," widely interpreted as a call to back rightist bands. Chamorro later condemned the formation of the commission, as did the FSLN.

The pro-Chamorro daily *La Prensa* in a July 10 article asserted that pro-FSLN radio stations — by supporting the strike — and Radio Corporación, which issued calls to "finish off the Sandinistas," were planting "the seeds for a civil war."

The situation was not one of civil war, however. The FSLN emphasized its goal was not to overthrow Chamorro, but to back the demands of the FNT. One striker, staffing a barricade outside a factory, stated, "This isn't an insurrection. We just want the government to negotiate with the FNT."

On July 11 workers and community activists showed their discipline by heeding the FNT's call to take down the barricades.

While some of Godoy's followers were

out for blood, they remained isolated and unable to win significant support from any section of the population.

Chamorro negotiates

That evening at a press conference Chamorro made clear her intention to negotiate with the FNT. She was flanked on one side by army head Humberto Ortega and police chief René Vivas, both long-time leaders of the FSLN. On her other side were presidential minister Antonio Lacayo and Carlos Hurtado, the minister in charge of the police, both Chamorro supporters. Vice-president Godoy was not present.

Army chief Ortega read a statement at the conference reaffirming "the army's loyalty to the constitution of the republic and to the president."

On July 12 the government and the FNT announced agreement ending the strike.

In exchange for the immediate renting of some state farms to private owners the pact includes a temporary freeze on further returns.

The accord calls for the 43 percent wage increase to state employees, which will only partly compensate for inflation. It calls for severance pay to state workers fired after April 26, strengthening "job stability," and the formation of joint government-FNT commissions to discuss a minimum-wage law and financing for industry.

At a meeting to discuss the results of the strike, FNT leader Lucio Jiménez said that the most important victory is, "the government has recognized that we are the representatives of the workers."

Daniel Ortega at a July 12 press conference said an important lesson of the strike "is that the government realizes it must come to an understanding with 'Sandinismo' and with the revolution to contribute to the stability of the country."

The settlement should not be seen as a victory for either side, Ortega said, "It's a victory for Nicaragua."

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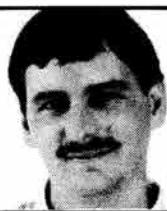
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Seattle activist lauds international defense effort

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who was framed by police on rape and burglary charges. He

to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695. If you have news or reports

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!



was convicted in September 1988 and is now serving a 25-year sentence in the John Bennett state prison in Fort Madison, Iowa.

Despite harassment by authorities, he continues to be politically active in prison and refuses to be isolated from the world beyond the prison walls.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee, based in Des Moines, is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis and to defend his rights in prison. More than 8,000 unionists, defenders of democratic rights, political activists, prominent officials, and others — from the Philippines to Sweden, from South Africa to Canada — have endorsed the committee's efforts.

For more information about the case or how you can help, write

on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

SEATTLE — Hazel Wolf, a longtime environmentalist and Central America solidarity activist, spoke to a July 15 rally in support of Mark Curtis here. She lauded Kate Kaku's recent international tour and effort to bring Curtis' case before the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Kaku is a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and is Curtis' wife.

Wolf was a victim of government repression. "I was arrested in 1949 along with some 14 other foreign-born brothers and sisters in the state of Washington, charged with our past and present alleged membership in the Communist Party," she told the meeting.

"The drive to silence the voice of dissent at the beginning of the Cold War, which later culminated in the McCarthy witch-hunt," she explained, "began with the attack on the foreign-born." Wolf was charged with being a Communist "some 13 years after I was no longer a member of the party, and during a time when membership was not a deportable offense."

Nevertheless, the threat of deportation hung over her head. "For some 25 years my case trudged from one court to another, during which time we lost every battle. But about 1974 we finally won the war," she said, and noted the support she had received from the Canadian trade union movement and the media coverage her case got in Britain, France, Italy, and Scandinavia.

In all there were some 400 deportation cases during the McCarthy period and only two or three were ever deported, she said. "And I think it safe to say that international support for all the victims of the witch-hunt had much to do with bringing that shameful period to an end."

Several others joined Wolf on the platform at the meeting, including Pat Stell, president of the Seattle Coalition of Labor Union Women; Nate Ford, business representative of the Metalworkers Union; Jo Linda Stephens of the Justice for

Tyrone Briggs Association; Elizabeth Bours of the Young Socialist Alliance; and Greg Castilla of the Filipino Association for Community Education.

OAKLAND, California — A panel of fighters for justice here July 14 raised their voices to demand justice for Mark Curtis.

"Mark Curtis was an anti-racist fighter and that's why he was framed up," said Franck Pottier, an activist in the Free South Africa Labor Committee and a member of the Ironworkers union. He noted the bosses' use of racism to divide workers and added, "If you fight, you'll make enemies."

"The Congress of South African Trade Unions, which is leading the anti-apartheid struggle through mass democratic action," he said, "is providing an example of antiracist struggle that all unions should emulate."

Jeff Blankfort of the Committee to Release Hani Beydoun, a Palestinian labor organizer incarcerated in Israel, urged unions to defend victims of frame-ups like Curtis. After the Israeli army arrested Beydoun and before they beat him, they took a "Stop Lorenzo" button from him. He had been given the button at a Machinists picket line at the Eastern Airline terminal in San Francisco.

The charge of rape against Curtis caused Bobby Castillo of the Bay Area Leonard Peltier Alliance to be wary of defending the Iowa unionist. After being imprisoned for 14 years, he explained, "I don't like rapists and neither do other prisoners."

But after discussing the case with other Native Americans who had firsthand knowledge of government frame-ups and after reading the pamphlet *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis: A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice*, Castillo said he knew "serious human rights violations had been meted out to Mark Curtis. Without a doubt, he is innocent," he concluded.

Curtis' frame-up and unfair trial "tells a lot about the courts in this country," said Niki Maguire, a defender of Joe Doherty, an Irish political prisoner held without charges by the U.S. government in a New York jail for more than seven years.

Other speakers included Jeff Bettencourt, a Machinist on strike against Eastern Airlines; John Campbell, a Greyhound striker; and Margaret Jayko, author of *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* pamphlet and member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Steve Beren from Seattle and George Johnson from Oakland, California, contributed to this week's column.

British coal washery workers fight bosses' wage cuts

BY PAUL DAVIES AND FRANK ALEXANDER

CARDIFF, Wales — Striking union coal preparation plant workers and their supporters staged a blockade at the Onllwyn Coal Washery in South Wales on July 2 in response to the company's attempts to impose cuts in wages and working conditions. The 166 workers, members of the Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU), struck the operation May 23.

The washery has been contracted out to Ryan International.

Last month Ryan announced that all of the strikers would be fired after which 108 would be hand-picked by management for rehire July 2. The workers rehired would make less per hour but do more jobs to make up for the 58 workers permanently laid off. The company also announced there would be no seniority rights and that union negotiating rights would be severely curtailed. Later, the company dropped the wage cut to avoid making redundancy payments to those who refused to return to work.

On July 2 not one worker crossed the picket line and only two managers got past the blockade. All trucks that tried to enter were turned away.

Women from the surrounding community were at the forefront of the picketing effort. "One of the lads said if they really wanted to come through, there was nothing we could do to stop them," said the wife of one washery worker. "Not on your life, we told him. They'll have to drive over our bodies first."

Clashes on the line have continued since the blockade. Ryan has attempted to use scabs from a nearby washery it also runs. So picketing has been extended to that site.

The police maintained that this constituted illegal "secondary picketing," but persistence paid off. After several confrontations with the cops, the strikers have established the right to picket there.

"The strike is 100 percent solid," said Alan Croswell, vice-chairman of the T&GWU Branch at Onllwyn. "They won't starve us back to work. Every open-cast [strip mine] site in South Wales is donating to us and the National Union of Mineworkers, who we supported throughout their 1984-85 strike, are doing the same for us now." The washery workers strike is seen as an important line of resistance to government-owned British Coal's drive for profits before privatization of the open-cast sector of the coal industry takes place.

The day before the blockade 200 strikers and supporters held a union meeting and affirmed their determination to hold out. A highlight of the meeting was an announce-

ment that the Miners' Support Group, active during the 1984-85 NUM strike, was being revived to mobilize for the T&GWU strikers. One veteran organizer for the support group explained, "Now we have the opportunity to repay the tremendous support you showed

the NUM during their strike."

With the recent closing of the Blaenant mine just down the road from the washery, the whole community is determined to turn back the union-busting of Ryan and safeguard the wages and conditions at Onllwyn

that were won in the last strike there in 1974.

Donations and messages of support for the T&GWU strikers can be sent to Onllwyn Washery Support Fund, Onllwyn Miners' Welfare Social Club, Onllwyn, near Seven Sisters, Neath, Wales, U.K.

Miami Haitians assert rights after cop attack

BY JACKIE FLOYD

MIAMI — Chanting "Mandela says, 'Keep the pressure on,'" and "Stop police brutality," 200 Haitians and their supporters asserted their right to demonstrate July 7 by picketing the Biscayne Shopping Plaza.

The protest was called in response to a police attack two days earlier at the same location on a crowd protesting an assault on a Haitian customer.

Cuban store owner Luis Reyes and his son beat Abner Alezi June 29 after Alezi, who is Haitian, complained about merchandise he had purchased at the store. Reyes then called police, who arrested Alezi and three Haitian passersby who had come to his aid.

That same evening, Haitian activists and members of the Haitian group Veye-Yo, gathered in front of the store to denounce the attack and to demand that charges instead be filed against Reyes. The following day more than 1,000 protesters picketed the store demanding justice and that the store be shut down.

The police were mobilized 100 strong to defend the store. The mostly youthful crowd stood their ground from 11:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. Among their many chants were "Racists must go!" "Some Cubans may hate me, but Mandela loves me," and "Fidel, Fidel, come to us. We need your help!" Police asked Reyes to close his store for a while to allow for tensions to cool off. On July 5 he reopened. Crowds of Haitian protesters again assembled. At 5:15 p.m., as less than 50 demonstrators remained singing and dancing in front of the store, 150 riot cops equipped with shields charged the group with clubs swinging.

Protesters, shoppers, and onlookers alike were beaten and arrested. One man had four of his teeth knocked out; another's arm was broken. Twelve of the 63 arrested were hospitalized.

Thirty-four of those arrested were taken to Krome Detention Center by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, where several remain and face deportation.

The next day a broadly sponsored news conference protested the police assault and pledged that the peaceful protests at the shopping center would continue. Speakers at the news conference included representatives

from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, People United for Justice, Haitian Refugee Center, and Black Lawyers Association.

The police received unqualified support from Miami Mayor Xavier Suarez and the Miami City Commission.

Organizers plan ongoing pickets outside the store.

Cuba is a just and humane society, New Zealand farmer says after tour

BY RONI McCANN

Denis Hiestand, a dairy farmer and activist from New Zealand, recently headed a tour of six family farmers to Cuba. Raimundo Rodriguez, a staff writer for the *Granma Weekly Review*, newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, interviewed Hiestand in an article that appeared June 17.

The farmers, Denis and Denise Hiestand, Jack and Alison Donald, Nic Sykes, and Robert Wallace, were invited by the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples and were the first delegation of New Zealand farmers to ever visit Cuba.

"I think you have a unique opportunity, after working for 30 years, to make progress and accomplish what no one has accomplished so far," said Hiestand after touring the island learning about agriculture in Cuba. "Every Cuban must be proud of this fact."

In New Zealand Hiestand owns a 300-acre dairy farm with 400 cows, reported *Granma*. Farmers in New Zealand, as in other capitalist countries, are burdened with debts, many having lost their land in recent years as the economic crisis has deepened.

Hiestand, who is interested in making links with farmers worldwide, has visited Australia, Britain, Mexico, Singapore, and the United States, reported Rodriguez. The June visit was Hiestand's first to Cuba.

Cuba is one of the most just and humane societies on earth, Hiestand told the *Granma* reporter.

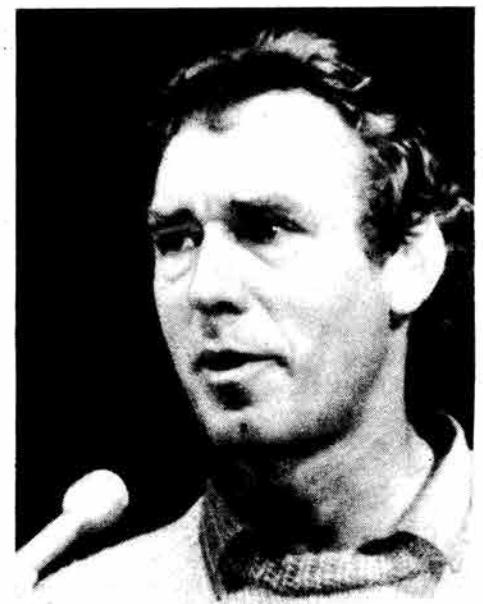
Hiestand praised the current state of Cuban agriculture, especially the introduction of new knowledge about genetics into cattle breeding. Although no agreement has been set, Hiestand proposed Cuban farmers be hosted by working farmers in New Zealand

for a period of time where they can enrich their experience.

Most of all Hiestand talked about how much he was able to learn about Cuba by seeing the country and the gains of the revolution first hand.

"In New Zealand the only true information comes to us from the New Zealand-Cuba Friendship Association and the Southern Cross Brigade, whose members come here every year," said Hiestand.

"Apart from these two organizations, we find it hard to get genuine information about your country that's not channeled, controlled, and supervised by the United States," he said.



Denis Hiestand

Petitioning effort for socialist ballot spot in New York is off to good start

Continued from front page

and are interested in something different," he said.

The Saturday petitioning effort was the first full day of campaigning by the socialist candidates since they announced their ticket at a July 12 press conference. Excerpts from the news conference were broadcast by WBAI radio that night following an interview with gubernatorial candidate Gannon on *Behind the News*, a weekly program on the same station.

Eastern strike

Gannon began his campaign by joining Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines at their La Guardia Airport picket line. "That's great, good luck to you," one striker responded when Gannon introduced himself. Eastern striker and SWP candidate Anmuth helped tell other cofighters about the socialist campaign, including two flight attendants on the line. They had a lengthy discussion with Gannon about his platform and some of the challenges they see facing working people today. Twelve strikers and strike supporters signed petitions to help place Gannon and his running mates on the ballot.

Throughout the day, supporters of the campaign reported a similar response from work-

ing people on the streets of New York. "There's more openness to our ideas," said one petitioner. "The Mandela tour had a big effect on people, especially youth, and many are more interested in politics," said another.

Long Island team

One petitioning team joined Robert, a Haitian-born member of the International Union of Electronic Workers, in his neighborhood in Westbury, Long Island. At a local A&P grocery store, he called people he knew over to the campaign table where they signed petitions. The team collected 95 signatures altogether.

At the campaign headquarters afterward Robert explained that "petitioning is a good way we can talk to more people about socialism and the truth about Cuba." He got different reactions to the idea of having socialist candidates on the ballot, he explained. "Many just want to learn more."

Many petitioners reported increased receptivity to the ideas of the socialist campaign — solidarity with the Eastern strike; support for the freedom struggle in South Africa; the right of Cuba to exist without U.S. aggression; and the importance of the battles by workers and farmers in Eastern Europe. State campaign director Vivian Sahner re-



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Craig Gannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, speaking in Manhattan at a July 7 forum on election perspectives.

ported that in Brooklyn supporters got an average of 70 people to sign petitions on the first day and that an average of 50 people in New York signed. On the first day of petitioning during the statewide elections in 1988, she said, campaign supporters averaged 35 names each.

Along with collecting thousands of signatures, petitioners in New York sold 10 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, 105 copies of the *Militant* and \$540 of Pathfinder literature.

The successful weekend of campaigning got the ballot drive off to a strong start. Petitioners gathered 2,292 signatures July 16,

17, and 18th. This includes 38 strikers and supporters from Domsey Trading Co., a garment shop in Brooklyn, who signed at a July 17 rally. There, some 700 people, including Eastern strikers and keynote speaker Jesse Jackson, gathered outside the factory in support of the fight for a union.

The day before, at the "500 Days" celebration on the Eastern strike picket line at La Guardia Airport, 11 strikers and strike supporters signed petitions. And a handful of signatures were collected at morning plant gate sales to rail workers at Metro North and to airport workers.

On July 16 full-time volunteers began fanning out on all-day teams.

Brooklyn teams take to the streets . . .

BY STEVE WARSHELL

BROOKLYN, New York — Early on July 14 some 40 supporters of the New York Socialist Workers state ticket gathered at the Brooklyn campaign headquarters near the busy intersection of Bergen Street and Flatbush Avenue. They were about to take the message of the socialist candidates to the city's most populous borough and to sign up hundreds of names on petitions to place the candidates' names on the ballot.

Throughout the week, Brooklyn supporters had worked hard to make the necessary preparations: petition boards, pens, tables, signs, boxes of Pathfinder books, and copies of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *Lutte ouvrière* had all been made ready.

"We'll be taking this campaign to working people in Brooklyn who are interested in candidates who can explain what's going on in the world and who present clear proposals for defending workers' interests," said petitioning director Marea Himelgrin.

At 10:30 a.m. the petitioners left the headquarters, which was kept open by a crew of four supporters. A steady stream of people stopped by the campaign center to talk, buy literature, and sign petitions. By the end of the day some 20 signatures had been gathered from walk-in traffic at the headquarters.

Teams returning to the campaign office later in the day reported an enthusiastic response. One team visited the picket line at the Domsey plant where members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been waging a strike since January.

Susan Anmuth, Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor, accompanied gubernatorial candidate Craig Gannon to the Machinists picket line in front of the Eastern Airlines entrance at La Guardia Airport. Anmuth is one of the striking Machinists and has played a prominent part in the strike since it began more than 16 months ago.

Another team of three gathered 350 signatures in less than three hours outside a major subway stop at Flatbush and Fulton Street.

Petitioners reported that the impact of the recent visit by Nelson Mandela could still be seen. "I came out to Bedford-Stuyvesant to see the Mandelas," said Dario, a 20-year-old Cuban-American, standing near a campaign table in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. "I'll never forget him. I'll also never forget seeing Nelson Mandela standing next

to Bush on TV. It reminded me of a giant standing next to a worm."

The people around the table nodded in agreement as Dario signed his name to the nominating petition and bought a copy of the *Militant*. He was one of 2,500 people to sign petitions in Brooklyn that day.

That evening, campaign supporters participated in a Militant Labor Forum where they heard a presentation by campaign spokesperson and garment worker, Anna Schell.

Following the meeting, two members of the printers' union at the New York *Daily News*, where workers are resisting a severe

concession contract proposal, stopped by. Later, Anmuth and other campaign supporters went to a nearby tavern to meet other union members. After discussions with the candidate and her backers, the socialists passed a petition board around the table.

Brooklyn campaign supporters plan daily events organized at the headquarters: classes for young people each Thursday night; regular teams to nearby neighborhoods to discuss politics; petitioning teams on Wednesday nights and Saturdays; and doing the paper work necessary to prepare the petitions for filing.

. . . and Newark pitches in

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS

NEWARK, New Jersey — The Socialist Workers Party campaign here is urging its supporters to participate in the effort to put the party on the ballot in New York State.

"The fighting spirit of the Eastern Airlines strike, the struggle in South Africa, workers stepping out in Eastern Europe: pitching in and discussing these events in working-class communities all over New York will enrich our campaign," said Don Mackle, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New Jersey. Mackle is a garment worker and member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

"We also plan to maintain a visible campaign presence in New Jersey during the ballot drive in New York," he said.

On the opening day of the effort, 18 New Jersey campaign supporters traveled across the Hudson River to participate. The same evening the SWP candidate for Congress in New Jersey's 10th district, Georges Mehrabian, joined a panel discussion at the Newark Militant Labor Forum titled "Stop Government Censorship of the Arts." Some 30 people attended the event to discuss recent attacks on democratic rights.

The New Jersey campaign headquarters, located at the Pathfinder Bookstore, will be open on Fridays during the lunch and dinner hours, and all day Saturdays during the three weeks of the New York ballot drive.

The Newark Young Socialist Alliance is organizing an evening discussion on July 23 with Jane Harris, SWP candidate for

Congress in the 14th district, to reach out to young people interested in the socialist campaign.

Socialist campaign supporters are also publicizing a Newark showing of the video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* by Hollywood director Nick Castle on July 28. Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Iowa imprisoned on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

Alabama socialist candidates join protests against Thomas execution

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — The Socialist Workers Party candidates in Alabama — Susan Skinner for governor, John Hawkins for U.S. Senate, and David Alvarez for U.S. Congress — joined with hundreds of opponents of the death penalty throughout Alabama in denouncing the execution of Wallace Norrell Thomas July 13 in the state's electric chair.

In a July 12 statement the socialist candidates declared, "The pending execution of Thomas is an outrage and should be halted. The death penalty itself, used by the U.S. rulers as a barbaric weapon of terror against workers and farmers — especially the most oppressed — should be abolished."

Thomas' execution brings to 161 the number of people put to death by Alabama's so-called justice system since 1927. For the

18 years from 1965 to 1983 no executions took place in the state due to repeated U.S. Supreme Court rulings that the state's death penalty law was unconstitutional. Since 1983 eight people, including Thomas, have been executed — three in 1989 alone.

"The government and courts today are pushing hard for broader, more rapid use of the death penalty," the socialist candidates stated. "Both Democrats and Republicans agree on extending the death penalty to seven new 'crimes' bringing the total of federal capital offenses to 30."

Of the 161 victims of Alabama's death penalty since 1927, 130 have been Black, 31 have been white. None has been a member of the wealthy capitalist class that rules Alabama and every other state in the United States, the candidates said.

August actions set; Atlanta pilots join picket

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news

against Eastern Airlines were joined on the picket line by about 30 pilots at the Hartsfield International Airport in Atlanta.

Dressed in uniform shirts with shoulder stripes, the pilots handed out several hundred informational fliers as they warned passengers



SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

date, Wednesday, July 18, the strike was in its 502nd day.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, Canada, Bermuda, Sweden, New Zealand, France, and elsewhere in the world. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

On July 9 Machinists on strike

about the dangers of flying Eastern.

Federal mediators overseeing contract negotiations between the Air Line Pilots Association and Eastern had declared the talks at an impasse and called a cooling-off period, which expires August 8. This made for lively discussions on the picket line. Some pilots thought this will mean they will end up striking and be back on the picket line. Others expressed hope that a buyout of Eastern by Northwest Airlines would go through.

Vowing to "keep the pressure on," strikers from Eastern Airlines and Greyhound joined forces in Philadelphia July 7 for an expanded picket line and rally in front of Greyhound's downtown bus terminal.

The slogan, borrowed from the recent U.S. tour of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, took on special meaning when Godfrey Sithole, representing the ANC, was introduced to the crowd.

"Wherever there is injustice," explained Sithole, "whether in South Africa or here, that's where you will find the ANC. Keep the pressure on apartheid; keep the pressure on Greyhound and Eastern! No contract, no peace!"

Immediately following Sithole's speech, a bystander stepped forward, shook his hand, then went into the terminal to refund his Greyhound ticket. Introduced to the crowd afterward, the young man declared, "I'm with you all the way!"

Later in the rally, a second passenger turned in her ticket for a refund.

Joining the Greyhound and Eastern strikers on the picket line, which numbered about 75, were members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees; United Auto Workers; and the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

The July 17 IAM District 100 bulletin includes a report from the July issue of the *IMF News*, the International Metalworkers Federation newspaper, that the union federation has called on its 13 million members around the world to boycott Eastern and Continental airlines. Continental is owned by Frank Lorenzo who was ousted from Eastern management in April.

A regional conference of delegates from the New Zealand Food and Textile Union in Auckland, New Zealand, in May discussed the importance of the Eastern strike and sent greetings to the IAM, declaring, "We salute your determination in

being able to maintain a solid strike for 14 months and stay one day longer than Frank Lorenzo. We send you our warmest greetings and support in your struggle."

"Solidarity Day for the Eastern Airlines Strikers" is being organized for August 4 at Eastern Airlines Departs, Central Terminal, at La Guardia Airport in New York. Sponsored by IAM Local Lodge 1018, the action begins at 12:00 p.m. and includes an expanded picket line and human billboard.

In Los Angeles, Machinists on strike at Eastern are urging participation in their July 21 picketing from 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. at Eastern Terminal 6 at the airport. This will be followed by a rally at 11:00 a.m. with the Greyhound strikers at the bus terminal.

Stephen Bride from Philadelphia; Miesha Patterson from Atlanta; and James Robb from Auckland contributed to this column.

Trustee Shugrue admits airline is in deep trouble

Continued from front page

Everything I do is a commercial."

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

With the strike clearly in the background, most of the questions at the news conference focused on the serious problems posed at Eastern.

Financial losses continue

Shugrue admitted the airline continues to lose up to \$1 million a day and that while the passenger load factor had reached 61.5 percent in June, the May figure of 54 percent was "terrible."

In an obvious reference to the strike, Shugrue pointed to "adverse publicity" the airline had received. This is the reason, he said, "when I arrived here on April 18 we had no advanced bookings to speak of."

One third of the way into its "100 days" advertising campaign, Eastern management reported that the ad campaign and low fares and "Y-not" first-class program the airline offers were a "success" and would be a prelude to a campaign the carrier would launch this fall.

But a *USA Today* survey of 190 corporate travel managers released July 3 gives a different picture. Fifty-nine percent of those

surveyed gave Eastern Ds or Fs for its service to business travelers. Only 2 percent gave the airline an A. Seventy percent picked Eastern as the airline that business travelers in their company most often refuse to fly. Only 1 percent said the carrier was the top choice in their companies.

A \$95 million payment to the company's pension fund is due September 15 in order to prevent the termination of the fund. When asked how Eastern hoped to make such a payment, Shugrue responded, "We are in discussions with the government agency that has stewardship over those plans as to who, how, when and in what form that payment is made."

Safety probes against Eastern

With charges of criminal violations for altering maintenance and safety record hanging over Eastern management, this too became a topic at the conference.

A federal grand jury conducted a 10-month investigation into charges that Eastern mechanics at New York's Kennedy and La Guardia airports and at Hartsfield International Airport in Atlanta were ordered to disregard safety guidelines and falsify logbooks to show that proper checks had been made.

Eastern closed its maintenance base at Kennedy last year after the Federal Aviation Administration fined the airline \$839,000 for

"faulty maintenance." The FAA regularly fines airlines for such violations, but it is extremely rare for criminal charges to be filed.

It has been reported that the charges are expected to include wire fraud, obstruction of justice, and making false statements and will include indictments of more than seven current and former Eastern employees and management personnel, including vice-presidents of the company.

"I met with the U.S. attorney a couple of weeks ago," Shugrue said, "and discussed his investigation of Eastern's maintenance practices at the Kennedy repair station." There was wide speculation in the press that Shugrue hoped to soften the blow to the airline such indictments and the accompanying publicity could have in further deterring passengers from flying Eastern. This would come right on top of three recent safety mishaps — two in June and one this month.

Buy out talks with Northwest

Much attention was given to the expressed interest Northwest Airlines has in purchasing Eastern. "I have met with Mr. Checchi of Northwest and we are setting up follow-up meetings in the coming weeks to see if there is an opportunity for Northwest and Eastern to do something together," said Shugrue.

Northwest, based in Minneapolis, was bought last year for \$3.65 billion by an investor group led by Alfred Checchi.

Northwest is attracted to Eastern's hub in Atlanta, which has 47 gates. A purchase of Eastern would increase Northwest's route system and give the airline a stronger presence in the Southeast where it is the weakest. Northwest is the nation's fourth-largest airline, and Eastern is ranked ninth.

In answering the question of what kind of deal he hoped to get for Eastern, Shugrue explained, "We are interested in reviewing a proposal that would acquire all of the assets of the company, including the people that work there" — including the scabs Eastern hired.

But Shugrue also admitted Checchi had met with the Machinists union. James Conley, a spokesman for the IAM explained recently, "There are exploratory talks going on with Checchi and other individuals." The IAM represents 20,000 workers at Northwest and 8,500 at Eastern.

When asked if Eastern was planning to settle with the IAM, Shugrue said, "The unions are very frustrated as am I that we do not have a settlement." But he offered no indication that he planned to pursue an agreement with the union.

Shugrue has also refused to carry out serious negotiations with the Air Line Pilots Association, and federal mediators overseeing the negotiations have

declared talks at an impasse and called a cooling-off period, which expires August 8.

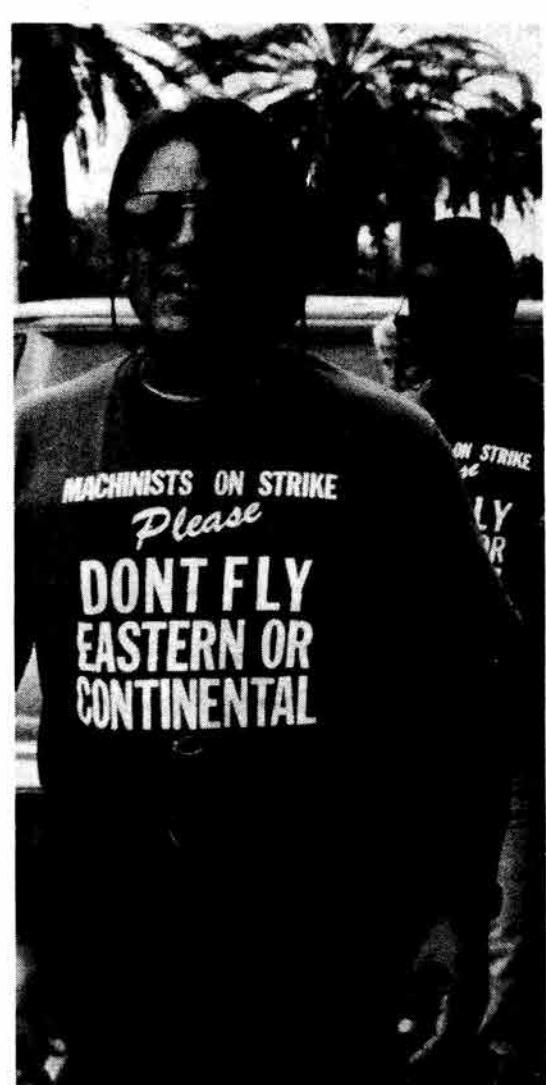
Recognizing that the airline's situation continues to worsen, Eastern strikers have begun to redouble their fight for a contract and have organized a round of activities throughout the country.

Most recently, 30 Machinists and strike supporters at La Guardia Airport marked their 500th day on strike by celebrating out on the picket line, complete with cake and balloons. In addition, they plan to hold a noontime expanded picket and human billboard on August 4 at the central terminal at La Guardia.

In Washington, D.C., strikers have begun building a walk-through set for August 5 at 2:00 p.m. at National Airport.

Strikers and their supporters have organized airport activities in Florida, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Eastern strikers are also gearing up to participate in activities around Labor Day on September 3.



Militant/Lynn Allen
Miami striker pickets meeting for travel agents sponsored by Eastern in May.

Picket to passengers: 'We need contract'

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "When I come to the picket line," explained Carlos Cevallos, "I always come with the hope of telling the passengers what's going on with our union and that there needs to be a solution. We need a contract." Cevallos was an airplane cleaner at Eastern Airlines and is among 71 Machinists on strike here.

A member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 796, Cevallos was walking his shift on the picket line with Howard Beatty, Everett Brown, and Garrie Taylor at Washington National Airport when I stopped by July 16.

We had a lively discussion on a range of subjects, but most of all we talked about the strike and what has been happening at Eastern.

All four voiced cautious optimism regarding the recent news reports that Northwest Airlines is interested in purchasing Eastern.

Several raised that this might mean a contract with at least some strikers getting their jobs back, and with a possibility that Eastern's scabs could end up without jobs.

Both Taylor and Brown said they were amazed Eastern was still operating given that the carrier continues to lose at least \$1 million a day.

When I asked what importance they placed on maintaining the picket line, Cevallos re-

lated a recent experience. "There was one day when some people from Costa Rica flew in here from Miami," he said. "They saw me and asked what the strike was about and how long it had been going on. I explained to them what had happened and that we don't have a contract.

"These people were from the teachers' union in Costa Rica," Cevallos continued, "and they told me they were very upset because they didn't know. They said they didn't want to fly on a nonunion airline where a strike was going on, and would do everything possible to not fly back on Eastern.

"When this sort of thing happens you feel your being here has accomplished something," the striker said. "I am very satisfied to come here and do the picketing because I know I'm putting out the message about the strike. With the picket line we are telling people why we are out here. They need to know."

"I never feel discouraged," he explained. "I still have the confidence that something good is going to come out of this strike."

Eastern strikers are building a walk-through at the main terminal of Washington National Airport to be held Sunday, August 5 from 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. They said they're getting a good response from among unions in the area.

United Airlines buyout plan put together by Machinists union falls short on funds

BY PATTI IIYAMA

NEW YORK — The United Airlines buyout plan put together by the International Association of Machinists, the Association of Flight Attendants, and the Air Line Pilots Association, is far from being in the bag. Not one of the banks from which these employee organizations are seeking financing has made a contractual commitment. Even if the financing by the five banks that IAM, AFA, and ALPA officials say are likely to participate in the deal comes through, the total of their combined contribution is only expected to be about \$2.5 billion. This is far short of the \$4.38 billion necessary for the buyout.

The banks are also demanding that the Machinists and the other employee organizations obtain at least \$300 million of their financing from nonbanking sources. These obstacles could mean that the IAM, AFA, and ALPA will have to seek an extension of the August 9 financing deadline that they have agreed to with the company's directors.

Employee buyouts have usually been a last-ditch effort to save tottering or already bankrupt companies. United (UAL), however, is a profitable company. The airline is also said to be unusual because promoters of the deal claim it will involve 100 percent employee ownership rather than partial employee ownership.

Representatives of the 26,000 nonunion workers, such as ticket agents and reservation clerks, have recently approved the deal. They have agreed to reduce their wages and benefits by \$50.5 million a year for a 14.26 percent share of the company.

On May 10 members of the IAM, which represents almost 26,000 ground service workers at UAL, voted to accept a new five-year contract that will buy out the second-largest U.S. airline through an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP). The contract includes the IAM's share of \$2 billion in concessions required from employees as "sweat equity" to finance the deal.

Promise of 'job security'

The AFA, representing 12,700 UAL workers, and ALPA, with 6,300 members, had already ratified the proposal. At United, workers were told in a letter by Louis Schroeder, district president and general chairman of the IAM at United, that the buyout will give job security by "stabilizing the company and removing the threat of raiders or individuals who would decapitalize the company and strip it of its assets" in order to make a quick profit.

The ESOP will place United in a poorer financial position. In order to finance the buyout, the UAL employees will have to borrow \$4.38 billion. This loan will increase

United's debt some 600 percent and add \$400 million to \$500 million to the company's interest payments. This does not count the amount necessary to pay off the principal on the loan.

UAL profits have never exceeded \$350 million even in the most profitable years, so the deal is risky even with the concessions. It is unlikely that the air carrier will be able to make its loan payments if fuel costs increase or a recession cuts back passenger load. Already, due to an increase in fuel prices, all airlines have posted losses for the first quarter of 1990, including \$36.4 million for United.

Schroeder and other IAM officials also argue that the ESOP "will give you total control over your future" through employee ownership. Supposedly no major decisions can be made without workers' consent. This is not, however, a case of one worker, one vote.

Even interpreted narrowly, the employees will not control the company. The Board of Directors will make the basic decisions and the three employee organizations have only three representatives out of 15 on the board. The other 12 include three representatives

from management, one from the non-unionized employees, and eight "independent" directors, who will constitute the majority of the board.

Control will rest with banks

Although the initial "independent" directors will be selected by the IAM, AFA, and ALPA, they must be people who are "acceptable to the banks" financing the ESOP, as union officials have stated. These will be lawyers, businessmen, and other "prominent members of the community" who will hardly be inclined to represent the interests of workers at United. The real control over the company will rest in the hands of the banks.

Two major concessions are in the summary of the contract: a five-year contract, instead of the usual three, with a six-year no-strike clause and a wage freeze for A-scale — top wage — workers over the life of the contract after a first-year cut of 3.7 percent.

At the end of three years a "neutral professional" will decide whether wages need to be decreased or increased based on such factors as United's financial performance, ability to pay its ESOP debt, and wages at

"comparable carriers." According to the contract, workers will have to accept any wage or benefit cuts with no recourse to a strike.

Schroeder says these concessions are necessary to pay off the buyout debts as quickly as possible so the workers can reap the benefits "as the company grows and prospers."

A key obstacle to the United deal is that no contract, ESOP, or labor official can insure the labor peace necessary to make it work. In the May vote 30 percent of the IAM members nationally rejected the buyout, with some stations like the San Francisco maintenance base of 12,000 workers rejecting the deal by even higher margins. Bankers and prospective financiers are taking this factor into account as they consider the viability of the plan.

Discussion on the proposed buyout is taking place among workers at United, hundreds of whom are Eastern strikers that have been hired by United. To these discussions they are able to bring the experiences of their fight against Eastern Airlines.

Patti Iiyama, a cleaner for United Airlines at JFK International Airport in New York, is a member of IAM Local 1322.

700 rally in support of Domsey strike

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

BROOKLYN, New York — Some 700 unionists and community supporters rallied outside Domsey Trading Corp. July 17 to back up strikers who are demanding recognition for their union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU).

The workers, mostly Haitian, went on strike in January to protest the firings of pronoun workers. The firings came after a majority of Domsey's employees filed a petition with the labor board requesting a union representation election.

Domsey recycles and exports used clothing, much of it bought from charities like the Salvation Army, to semicolonial countries at a big profit, while paying its workers close to the minimum wage and imposing intolerable working conditions.

Twelve buses pulled up to the picket line for the rally bringing ILGWU members from Local 99, the New York and New Jersey warehouse workers, and knitwear workers from Local 155. Eastern Airlines and Greyhound strikers came with banners, and Haitian community groups participated.

Jay Mazur, president of the ILGWU, read a telegram from Madia Diop, a leader of the

labor movement in Senegal. "The struggle of the workers of Domsey," said Diop, "is the same as the struggle of the Senegalese working class, which has won so many victories. The solidarity of our members must not be words alone." Domsey exports its goods to Senegal and Nigeria, two West African countries.

"This is the first time we've all come out like this," said a member of Local 99 who works at the giant K-Mart warehouse in North Bergen, New Jersey. "I've never seen anything like it before."

The company organized a very loud and provocative counterdemonstration of about 100 on its property. Led by Peter Salm, the owner's son, the scabs yelled "Union no!" and beat on a corrugated metal fence, drowning out some of the union speakers. They were answered by chants from rally participants of "What do we want? Union! When do we want it? Now!"

A majority of the counterdemonstrators went back into the Domsey warehouse when

Jesse Jackson was introduced, but some stayed to heckle. "You fought Papa Doc in Haiti," Jackson said to the biggest applause. "You're fighting Papa Domsey in New York."

With the crowd pointing their fingers at the company's owners standing in a second-story window above the rally platform, Jackson led the unionists in chanting, "We won't give up! We won't surrender!" Earlier Jackson met with government representatives from Senegal and Nigeria and urged them not to buy Domsey goods.

A party on the picket line followed the rally. Eastern strike supporters talked to participants about supporting their August 4 action at La Guardia International Airport. "Of course, we'll be there," Jean Bonny, a Domsey strike leader said. "Eastern, Domsey, we're in the same fight."

Supporters of workers in South Korea victimized by the union-busting tactics of the U.S.-based PICO Products, Inc., distributed a statement supporting the Domsey strikers.

Campaign under way to win readers to renew 'Militant' subscriptions

BY RON McCANN

"I'm sick of hearing that communism has 'failed' in Eastern Europe. Are they attempting to combine the capitalist system with a socialist one? Is this even possible, let alone recommendable? Don't they know what we have in the U.S. is a symptomatic failure of a socio-political economic rulership by an oppressive minority? No cure for AIDS without a cure for homophobia, poverty, the homeless, and drug epidemic, etc. And with censorship and Supreme Court attacks on rights, where in the world is the democracy?"

This note from Philadelphia, written in the space reserved for comments on a renewal letter, was one of six we received from readers who resubscribed to the *Militant* in the past several days. The *Militant* carries news and a clear analysis of the big events unfolding in the world today — from the picket lines at Eastern Airlines to South Africa to Poland — as working people engage in struggle. And more and more readers of the paper appreciate this.

On July 14, 2,019 readers whose subscriptions are about to expire received letters urging them to renew. Supporters of the paper began a three-week international campaign to call and visit subscribers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière* and

increase their long-term readership.

In the first few days of the campaign 10 people sent in their renewals. The week before 25 had come in. This included a union miner, an auto worker, and a Machinist who signed up to keep getting the *Militant* and two farm workers who renewed their subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Supporters in Atlanta, Georgia, got started on the campaign July 14 and were able to set up three visits for the week.

In Birmingham, Alabama, *Militant* supporters took a goal of winning 25 long-term readers. They want to discuss the paper with strikers at Greyhound, several of whom subscribe to the *Militant*, and coworkers in the steel, rail, and mine unions and urge them to resubscribe. One-third of those who signed up for the paper during the recent circulation drive were members of unions.

"We found last week's article from supporters in Canada on their experiences in organizing a renewal effort very helpful," said one *Militant* supporter in Birmingham. She explained how they want to discuss the Alabama Socialist Workers election campaign and the defense of Mark Curtis with readers of the paper when they talk to them about extending their subscriptions. "Our plan is to team up and make calls to subscribers twice a week," she said.

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In its July-August issue, *PM* offers two speeches by Nelson Mandela: one given on his May visit to Angola, and the other to South African businessmen on the urgency of abolishing apartheid.

The issue includes an interview with Ernie Mailhot, coordinator at New York's La Guardia Airport of the Machinists strike against Eastern Airlines. He discusses the achievements and the new opportunities to advance the 16-month-old strike to victory.

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Latin America youth meet in Mexico

Delegates from 34 groups debate economic and political policies for region

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS
AND ROLLANDE GIRARD

MEXICO CITY — More than 60 delegates representing 34 youth organizations from 17 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean gathered here June 28–July 1 to discuss "the challenges of the 21st century facing Latin American and Caribbean youth."

The meeting was cosponsored by the youth section of the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties (COPPPAL), the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Continental Organization of Latin American Students, and the International Union of Students.

Most delegates represented social-democratic youth organizations. A few were affiliated with Communist Parties in Latin America. Delegations included organizations affiliated with the governing parties in Argentina, Belize, Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico, and Uruguay.

Representatives of the Socialist Youth of Spain and the Young Socialist Alliance of the United States also participated as delegates. Dozens of observers, mostly students from Mexico, attended the gathering.

The main themes discussed included education, drug addiction, democracy, and "economic and political integration of Latin American and Caribbean youth." The delegates also debated solutions to the mounting problems of unemployment, illiteracy, hunger, and homelessness facing youth in the region.

Debate on Bush plan

A sharp debate took place over the June 27 proposals of U.S. President George Bush for the creation of a free-trade zone in the hemisphere that would ease tariffs and other trade barriers between the United States and Latin American countries.

Bush proposed forgiving some of the \$12 billion Latin American governments owe Washington. Altogether, Latin American countries owe \$422 billion to foreign governments and bankers.

The president also called for increasing the pool of funds available to Latin American governments to help pay the interest on their debts to commercial banks. He suggested that the funds come from the Inter-American Development Bank.

"We need stronger bilateral relations be-

tween the U.S. and Mexico," said Adrián Gallardo, giving tacit approval to Bush's proposals. Gallardo, who is the regional coordinator of the youth section of COPPPAL, was one of the delegates of the Revolutionary

ican and Caribbean countries and increased cooperation to combat the problem of the foreign debt.

"The Bush plan will only open our countries up to more exploitation," added



Panama, December 1989. The U.S. invasion and continued occupation of Panama were discussed at the conference.

Youth Front, affiliated with the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the governing party of Mexico.

The Mexican government has recently begun selling state-owned companies to imperialist monopolies in an effort to maintain payments on its foreign debt.

Revolutionary Youth Front members, along with delegates of the Peronist Youth from Argentina, Democratic Action of Venezuela, and others, pointed to last year's upheaval in Eastern Europe and the friendlier relations between the U.S. and the Soviet governments as reasons to adopt a more conciliatory stance towards Washington.

Cuban responds

Responding to this view, Humberto Ramírez of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba said, "We have only received increased hunger, military intervention, and debt from the U.S. government. We can expect nothing better from it." He called for more trade agreements among Latin Amer-

Ronald Rosario of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party youth.

"The imperialists have no solutions to the debt crisis," said Argiris Malapanis of the Young Socialist Alliance from the United States. "Their proposals, like the recent one by Bush, center on how best to keep interest flowing in, while minimizing risks of defaults that could destabilize the international banking system." He pointed to Cuban President Fidel Castro's call on Latin American governments to cancel the Third World foreign debt as a proposal that deserves support.

The final conference resolution condemned the recent Bush plan, pointing out that its intention is "to absorb our precarious economies, taking our nonrenewable resources in exchange for greater political and economic intervention."

Faced with opposition to including in the final resolution a call for cancellation of the foreign debt, the Cuban delegates proposed a call for an international youth forum that would further discuss the question of the debt and national sovereignty, among other issues. This was included in the resolution, which could only be adopted by consensus.

U.S. intervention

During the session on "social integration and drug addiction" the discussion heated up as Jairo Carillo of the New Independent Liberalism of Colombia and Abdiel Suira of the People's Revolutionary Youth of Panama denounced U.S. military intervention carried out under the pretext of combating drug trafficking. "Before they used communism to intervene; now they use the pretext of drug trafficking," added Douglas Mazariegos of the Association of University Students from Guatemala.

The final resolution said, "The just fight against drug trafficking has been utilized by the U.S. administration to cover an interventionist and aggressive policy" as in the cases of the "military invasion of Panama, the naval blockade of Colombia, the economic blockade that Nicaragua suffered, and the illegal extraditions in Mexico, among others."

The U.S. invasion and continued occupation of Panama was a big topic of discussion at the conference. Objections from delegates of the Youth Front of the PRI to calling the Guillermo Endara government in Panama a "puppet government" were met by outrage from the Panamanian and other delegations.

"A government sworn in on a U.S. military base and protected by the U.S. Army is nothing more than a puppet government," said Eliécer Araus of the Liberal Party Youth of Panama. Araus also represented the General Coordinating Committee of Youth in Panama, recently set up to coordinate actions of youth groups opposed to the U.S. occupation.

The committee took part in organizing a 25,000-strong march in Panama City on June 20, reported Araus. Demonstrators demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Panama, the rebuilding of neighborhoods

destroyed by the invasion, jobs, and the rehiring of unjustly fired workers.

"This came at a time of a devastating economic crisis in Panama," said Rómulo Castro, another member of the delegation from Panama. The march was called by the Patriotic Front, a newly formed organization that incorporates all the parties opposed to the U.S. intervention.

The Panamanian delegation, which included youth representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Party and the Public Workers Federation, organized an evening in solidarity with Panama during the conference. The event, attended by most delegates, included a video showing of the massive bombing of working-class neighborhoods in Panama City by the U.S. invaders last December.

Withdrawal of U.S. forces

Demanding the "total and immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces" from Panama, the final resolution included a call for a "solidarity action with Panama on Dec. 20, 1990," the first anniversary of the U.S. invasion.

The resolution also supported the struggle for independence of Puerto Rico and denounced human rights violations in Guatemala and El Salvador.

Referring to Washington's attempts to illegally broadcast television programs to Cuba using TV Martí, the final resolution denounced "the imposition of a TV channel that violates international telecommunications agreements along with the sovereignty, integrity, and self-determination" of the Cuban people. It also condemned the maintenance of the U.S. military base at Guantánamo in Cuba, and the recent U.S. military maneuvers around the island.

New York July 26 events will celebrate Cuban revolution

BY JON HILLSON

NEW YORK — Public meetings here later this month will protest Washington's provocative acts against Cuba and express solidarity with the Cuban revolution. The occasion will be the 37th anniversary of the July 26, 1953, attack on the Moncada military barracks that marked the beginning of the Cuban revolution.

"We are inviting the entire progressive community, the Latino community, all of Cuba's friends, political activists, religious people, everyone, to reaffirm their defense of Cuba, now more than ever," Luis Miranda explained in an interview.

Miranda is the president of Casa de las Américas, a prominent pro-Cuba organization in New York City. Casa is sponsoring a "political-cultural event" and dance at the Martin Luther King Labor Center, the headquarters of Local 1199 Hospital and Health Care Employees union, 310 West 43rd Street, starting at 7:00 p.m. on July 21.

The evening will also be an act of solidarity with Casa, whose meeting hall, long a center for activities defending the Cuban revolution and other anti-imperialist struggles, has been kept closed by New York City officials since April 15 when it was cited for having an out-of-date occupancy permit.

Subsequently, buildings department representatives charged the organization with a variety of code violations, prompting nearly three months of extensive renovation. Casa has yet to receive permission to reopen.

The July 21 celebration — which will feature speeches, a cultural presentation, and live music — is also a protest against "the government and *gusano* [right-wing Cuban] elements who try to silence those who defend Cuba," Miranda said.

On July 26 the U.S. Hands Off Cuba Coalition, a cosponsor of the earlier event, will host an outdoor rally in Harlem. The celebration begins at 5:00 p.m. in Marcus Garvey Park, 124th Street at Fifth Avenue.

On July 28 the Brooklyn and New York Militant Labor Forums will be sponsoring meetings to discuss the impact, role, and challenges facing the Cuban revolution in the world today. The events begin at 7:30 p.m. and will be held at 191 7th Avenue, Manhattan, and at 646 Bergen Street, Brooklyn.

Youth join int'l Curtis appeal

MEXICO CITY — "The Mark Curtis case affects us very much because of the number of immigrant workers from Mexico in the United States," said Antonio García, a delegate from Mexico in the international conference sponsored by the youth section of COPPPAL here.

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year sentence on a frame-up rape and burglary conviction.

He was arrested after attending a meeting with coworkers from the Swift meat-packing plant where he worked in Des Moines. The meeting was organized to protest the arrest by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of 17 immigrant workers at Swift. Sixteen of the workers were from Mexico and one was Salvadoran.

Thirty participants at the COPPPAL conference, including 24 delegates, signed up as endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

"We are very interested in this case because the United States says that it defends democracy, that's why it invaded Panama," said Joaquín Vazquez, from Panama's Revolutionary Democratic Party youth, in summing up his support for Curtis. "This case shows they are against human rights, they are not for democracy. We should let the world know about this."

Repeated human rights violations against youth and other working people were also described by delegates from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Haiti.

The final resolution adopted by the delegates at the COPPPAL conference demanded the release of all political prisoners and the return of "the disappeared in Guatemala,

Chile, and El Salvador."

It also included a clause stating: "We denounce the violations of human rights in the United States as in the cases of Leonard Peltier, Johnny Imani Harris, Mark Curtis, Puerto Rican independence activists, and others."

Twenty-five of those who endorsed the Curtis case also signed the international youth appeal demanding justice for Curtis. The appeal, issued by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, is directed towards youth organizations and activists. It is being circulated around the world by members of the Young Socialist Alliance and other youth activists.

The signers included Mónica Gutiérrez of the Puerto Rican Independence Party youth; Juan Hernández Morales, executive director of the youth section of COPPPAL; Carlos Contreras Núñez, general secretary of the Revolutionary Youth Front in Sinaloa State, Mexico; José Oscar Váldez Ramírez of the National Coordinating Committee of Mexican Students; Lautaro Sandino of the Sandinista Youth (JS-19); Sonia Vivas of the Nationalist Democratic Union Youth of El Salvador; Rodrigo Herrera Bravo of the Peronist Youth from Argentina; Jorge Morales from the Federation of Panamanian Students; Eliécer Araus, general secretary of the Liberal Party Youth of Panama; Fausto Liz, president of the Dominican Revolutionary Party Youth; Léonard Duvivier, a delegate from the National Congress of Democratic Movements (Konakom) of Haiti; and Martín Guillermo from the International Secretariat of the Socialist Youth of Spain.

— A.M and R.G.

International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant

July 1990

Socialists fight for right to protect privacy of campaign contributors

Letter to gov't agency cites history of cop, employer harassment of party, supporters

Last year the Federal Election Commission took away the Socialist Workers Party's exemption from disclosing the names of financial contributors to its election campaigns.

The SWP has been running candidates for elective office since 1938. Socialist Workers campaign committees have never divulged the names of contributors since disclosure of these names became law in 1971. In 1974 the SWP filed a lawsuit challenging the disclosure provision. A court-ordered consent decree permitting the exemption on disclosure of contributors' names was won in 1979. It was extended in 1985 and recipients of funds from SWP campaign committees were added to the disclosure exemption. The FEC in its decision last year took away this exemption also.

On July 2 attorney Edward Copeland filed with the FEC a request on behalf of the SWP for an advisory opinion, asking that the right to withhold the names be restored. Seeking an advisory opinion, which would require a majority vote by commission members, is the first step needed to regain the exemption. The FEC has two months to respond.

Copeland's letter, printed below, refers to the jailing of SWP members under the Smith Act during World War II. In 1941, 18 members of the party were tried and convicted under the Smith Act, a thought-control law adopted in 1940 that made it a crime to conspire to advocate the violent overthrow of the government of the United States. The 18 SWP members were jailed in 1944 and served up to 16 months in federal prison.

The charges against the 18 stemmed from their involvement in the fight to organize the Teamsters Union in the Midwest and their political opposition to World War II, a conflict between competing imperialist powers.

A historic suit against the FBI and other government agencies, filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance in 1973, exposed decades of illegal spying and disruption aimed at the party and YSA and their members and supporters. In 1986 a federal court judge ruled that the government's disruption campaign was unconstitutional, awarding damages to the SWP. A year later he extended that ruling to bar the government from using the information it had gathered illegally.

Messages calling for restoration of the exemption should be sent to Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463. Contributions earmarked for this fight can be sent

to Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 406 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The request to the FEC is reprinted in full below. The footnotes are from the original document and only citations of legal documents and exhibits have been deleted. Bracketed material is by the *Militant*.

* * *

Dear Sirs:

This is a request for an advisory opinion concerning the application of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, ("FECA" or "the Act") to the Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee and committees supporting candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (the "SWP").

The SWP seeks an advisory opinion acknowledging that committees supporting candidates of the Socialist Workers Party continue to be entitled to the same exemptions and other provisions of the order, judgment and decree entered in 1985 *Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee v. Federal Election Commission*.

The failure to provide these protections would result in an unconstitutional application under the First Amendment of the reporting and disclosure provisions of FECA, requiring, *inter alia* [among other things], public disclosure of the names and residential addresses, occupations, and business addresses of contributors, political committees or candidates, lenders, guarantors, endorsers, persons providing rebates, refunds or other offsets to operating expenditures, persons providing any dividend, interest, or other receipt and persons to whom expenditures have been made.

Legal Framework

In *Buckley v. Valeo*, (1976), the Supreme Court recognized that the requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act as applied to minor parties and independent candidates may be unconstitutional because of the danger of significant infringement on First Amendment rights.

The court recognized that "the governmental interest in disclosure is diminished when the contribution in question is made to a minor party with little chance of winning an election." As the court pointed out, the situation of minor parties is further unlike those of the major parties because

"as minor parties usually represent definite and publicized viewpoints, there may be less need to inform the voters of the interests that specific candidates represent."

The court, while refusing to endorse a blanket exemption for all minor parties, held that particular minor parties might present circumstances similar "to those before the Court in *NAACP v. Alabama*, (1958) and *Bates v. Little Rock*, (1960), where the threat to the exercise of First Amendment rights is so serious and the state interest so insubstantial that the Act's requirements cannot be constitutionally applied," providing as an example of such a case the allegations set forth in *Doe v. Martin*, (1975) (three judge court), involving a branch of the Socialist Workers Party. The court described the required showing as follows:

Minor parties must be allowed sufficient flexibility in the proof of injury to assure a fair consideration of their claim. The evidence offered need show only a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of a party's contributors' names will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from either Government officials or private parties. The proof may include, for example, specific evidence of past or present harassment of members due to their associational ties, or of harassment directed against the organization itself. A pattern of threats or specific manifestations or public hostility may be sufficient. (Emphasis added.)

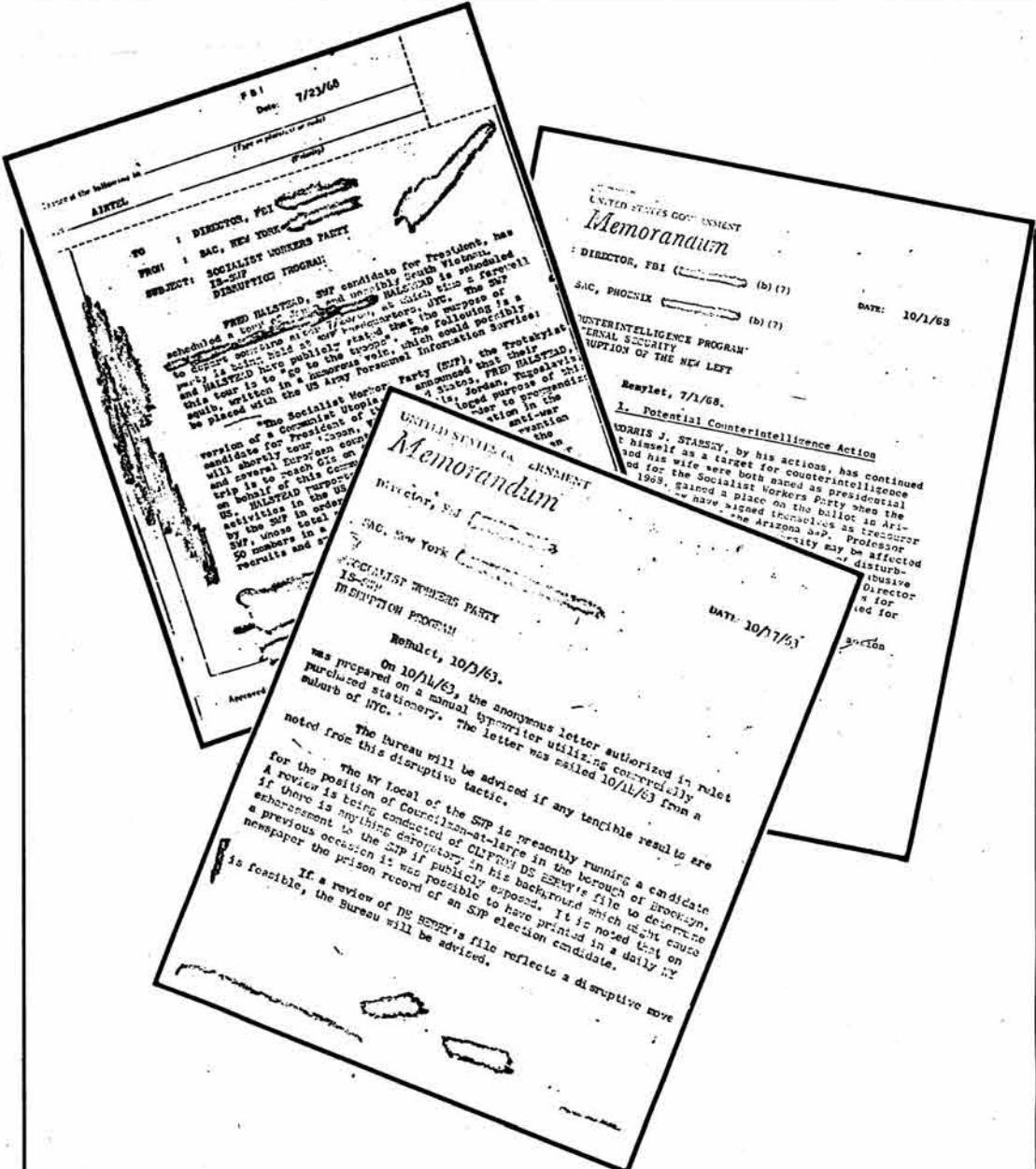
The *Buckley* test was applied to the disclosure provisions of a state campaign reporting statute in 1982 in a case involving the Socialist Workers Party. *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee (Ohio)*, (1982). In *Brown*, the court found that

(t)he District Court properly concluded that the evidence of private and Government hostility to the SWP and its members

Continued on next page

1. The *Martin* case cited with approval by the Supreme Court concerned the constitutionality of portions of the 1974 District of Columbia Campaign Finance Reform and Conflict of Interest Act, requiring, *inter alia*, every political committee to keep records showing the name, address and place of business of contributors of \$10 or more, the designation of a depository bank through which the political committee will conduct all of its financial business, and the filing of publicly available reports listing the name, address and place of business of each contributor of \$50 or more as well as civil penalties for noncompliance.

In *Doe*, the plaintiffs asserted that the name, address and places



Historic lawsuit filed in 1973 revealed decades of disruption of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance by FBI and other government agencies. Above are samples of heavily censored documents turned over to court by cops showing how SWP candidates and election campaign supporters were targeted.



Socialist Workers Party has fielded candidates since its founding in 1938. Ticket in 1946 elections in New York included (left to right) Joseph Hansen for U.S. Senate, Farrell Dobbs for governor, and Milt Richardson for lieutenant governor.

Continued from previous page

establishes a reasonable probability that disclosing the names of contributors and recipients will subject them to threats, harassment and reprisals. There were numerous instances of recent harassment of the SWP both in Ohio and in other States. There was also considerable evidence of past Government harassment. Appellants challenge the relevance of this evidence of Government harassment in light of recent efforts to curb official misconduct. Notwithstanding these efforts, the evidence suggests that hostility toward the SWP is ingrained and likely to continue.

The evidence leading to this controlling holding included the following:

- threatening telephone calls and hate mail;
- the burning of SWP literature;
- the destruction of SWP members' property;
- police harassment of a party candidate;
- the firing of shots at an SWP office;
- job firings of SWP members;
- a past history of government harassment including massive surveillance, and the conduct of a counterintelligence program against the SWP by the FBI;
- the extensive use of informers for the FBI against the SWP;
- the maintenance of massive files by the government on the SWP.

Prior to the *Brown* decision, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit held that a campaign committee of the Communist Party could not be required to comply with the disclosure and record-keeping provisions of FECA under the First Amendment. In *Federal Election Commission v. Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee*, (1982), *cert. denied*, (1983), the court considered the application of FECA to the campaign committee for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Communist Party. In holding that this campaign committee could not be compelled, consistent with the First Amendment, to comply with the FECA's disclosure and record-keeping provision, the court stated:

(W)e note that Buckley did not impose unduly strict or burdensome requirements on the minority group seeking constitutional exemption. A minority party striving to avoid FECA's disclosure provisions does not carry a burden of demonstrating that harassment will certainly follow compelled disclosure of contributors names. Indeed, when First Amendment rights are at stake and the spectre of significant chill exists, courts have never required such a heavy burden to be carried because "First Amendment freedoms need breathing space to survive." *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, (1967), quoting *NAACP v. Button* (1963). Breathing space is especially important in a historical context of harassment based on political belief.

The court then found that based upon "the treatment historically accorded persons identified with the Communist Party" and a survey of statutes purporting to subject Com-

of employment of those supporting the SWP "will be noted by the FBI and others and that inquiries or other detrimental social pressures will ensue affecting employment and privacy." The court had before it affidavits showing that party members had been harassed by government agencies and private employers and the findings of the Minnesota Ethics Commission exempting the Minnesota Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Committee from the disclosure requirements of the Minnesota Ethics in Government Act of 1974.

munist Party members to civil and criminal liability, the minimal government interest in obtaining the information could not justify the restraint upon the First Amendment rights of the committee and its supporters. Indeed, the court admonished the FEC that in light of this factual record, it had proceeded with an "appalling disregard for the needs of the free and open political process safeguarded by the First Amendment."

Subsequent to the decisions in *Buckley*, *Brown v. Socialist Workers Party '74 Campaign Committee (Ohio)* and *Hall-Tyner*, there have been no reported decisions raising the constitutionality of forced disclosures under FECA. In 1979 and again in 1985, the Federal Election Commission entered into voluntary consent decrees which acknowledged that

66 No SWP campaign committee has ever disclosed contributors' names or recipients' names . . .

the SWP was exempt under the First Amendment from disclosure under FECA. See *Stipulation of Settlement*, filed Jan. 3, 1979, and *Stipulation of Settlement*, filed July 24, 1985, in *Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee v. Federal Election Commission*.²

In a series of decisions beginning in 1974 and continuing through last year concerning state law disclosure requirements, the SWP has been exempted from reporting requirements in Florida, Minnesota, Wisconsin, California, Washington, the District of Columbia, and Illinois. See, e.g., *1980 Illinois Socialist Workers Campaign v. State of Illinois Board of Election*, (1982); *Wisconsin Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee v. McCann; Doe v. Martin*, (1975); *In Re Manual No. AE 77.005* (California Fair Political Practices Commission, March 1977); *Socialist Workers 1974 Washington State Campaign v. Washington Public Disclosure Commission*, (April, 1977); *In the Matter of Minnesota Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Committee Request for Exemption*, (Minn. State Ethics Comm., October, 1974).³

Last year, the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida held that election laws requiring disclosure of contributions or recipients were unconstitutional as applied to individuals associated with, or seeking to associate with, the SWP and a campaign committee supporting an SWP candidate. The evidence there showed that "compliance with the challenged provisions would subject the plaintiffs to threats, harassment and reprisals from private persons. This evidence completely satisfies the Supreme Court's test . . ." *McArthur v. Smith*, (1989).

Factual Background

1. Facts with Respect to the SWP

The SWP has consistently nominated and run candidates for elective office since it was founded in 1938 and has had

2. Various materials reflecting incidents of harassment and violence were submitted to the FEC in connection with that case.

3. One court refused to grant the SWP an exemption. *Oregon Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Committee v. Paulus*, (1977).

a candidate in every presidential race since 1948, and numerous other federal, state, county and municipal offices. No SWP candidate has ever been elected to public office in a partisan election and the votes recorded for the candidates of the SWP remain quite small. In the three most recent presidential elections, the SWP candidates received 15,604 votes in 16 states in 1988, 24,681 votes in 24 states in 1984, and 40,105 votes in 29 states in 1980.⁴ The SWP has asserted its First Amendment right against disclosure since the FECA was enacted and no SWP campaign committee has ever disclosed contributors' names or disclosed recipients' names since 1985.

In addition to participation in election activities such as petitioning, literature distribution, speaking engagements and the like, SWP candidates have been faced with formidable barriers to their appearing on ballots such as loyalty oaths and overly burdensome requirements. These barriers have resulted in substantial litigation over the years.⁵

2. The Harassment and Hostility Directed At the SWP and Its Members

In view of the history of the United States over the past five decades, it is beyond dispute that the FECA cannot be constitutionally applied to require the disclosure of the

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FEC should recognize that under the First Amendment, SWP cannot be compelled to disclose names . . .

contributors to the campaigns of candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, or recipients of disbursements, particularly in view of the decisions of the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Socialist Workers Party '74 Campaign Committee (Ohio)* (1982) and *Buckley v. Valeo*, (1976).

This history makes apparent that there is a reasonable probability that disclosing the names of contributors and recipients will subject them to threats, harassment or reprisal. It is that history which we now briefly summarize, mindful of the Supreme Court's conclusion after reviewing part of this history in 1982 that this "hostility toward the SWP is ingrained and likely to continue."

For decades the SWP and its supporters have been selected out for investigation and harassment by the government, subjected to repeated violations of their civil and constitutional rights, their landlords and employers interviewed repeatedly, their homes and offices burglarized by government employees, their political plans, events and relations affirmatively disrupted by government employees, their telephones and offices tapped and bugged, their files stolen and their ranks infiltrated by government informer. This governmental and private animus was intended to, and did, interfere with individuals' lives and employment and continues in the form of harassment and violence directed at the SWP, its candidates and supporters.

Beginning in 1941, the Federal Bureau of Investigation began a generalized investigation of the SWP which was to last for at least the next 35 years. *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*, (1986).⁶ The investigation began roughly the same time period that 18 members of the SWP were prosecuted and convicted for conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the government under the Smith Act. *Dunne v. United States*, (1943), *cert. denied*, 320 U.S. 790 (1943).

In the course of its investigation, the FBI amassed over 8 million documents. Between the years 1960 and 1976, the FBI employed approximately 1,300 informers, of whom approximately 300 became or were members of the SWP, paying over \$1.6 million to the informers alone. The informers routinely and regularly reported upon the lawful

4. In the 1988 senatorial elections, SWP candidates received 11,239 votes in New York, 5,192 votes in New Jersey, 4,821 votes in Michigan, 3,105 votes in Minnesota, 3,026 votes in Wisconsin and 1,233 votes in Utah.

5. These cases include: [West Virginia] *Socialist Workers Party v. Hechler*, (1989), *cert. denied*, (1990); *Munro v. Socialist Workers Party*, [Washington] (1986) (upholding requirement that minor-party candidate receive at least 1 percent of all votes cast in primary before candidate's name placed on general election ballot); *Illinois State Board of Elections v. Socialist Workers Party*, (1979) (challenge to petitioning requirements); *Jenness v. Fortson*, [Georgia] (1971) (challenge to petitioning requirements); *Socialist Workers Party v. Hardy*, [Louisiana] (1979) (challenge to loyalty oath for candidate); *Socialist Workers Party v. March Fong E*, [California] (1978), *cert. denied* (1979) (challenge to ballot requirements); *Socialist Workers Party v. Hill*, [Texas] (1973) (challenge to loyalty oath); *Socialist Workers Party v. Davoren [Massachusetts]* (1974) (challenge to petitioning requirements); *Baird v. Davoren*, [Massachusetts] (1972) (challenge to ballot requirements); *Jenness v. Miller*, [Florida] (1972) (challenge to filing fee); *Socialist Workers Party of Illinois v. Ogilvie*, [Illinois] (1972) (challenge to age requirements); *Socialist Workers Party v. Welch*, [Texas] (1971) (challenge to property requirements and registration fee for candidates); *Socialist Workers Party v. Rockefeller*, [New York] (1970) (challenge to petitioning requirements); *Socialist Workers Party v. Hare*, [Michigan] (1969) (challenge to petitioning requirements); *Jenness v. Little*, [Georgia] (1969), *appeal dismissed*, (1970) (challenge to filing); *Socialist Workers Party v. Secretary of State*, [Michigan] (1982).

political activities, discussions, and debates of the SWP as well as reported the names, addresses, descriptions and places of employment of members and their families. The informers reported, again on a regular basis, a host of personal information including information on marital or cohabitational status, marital strife, health, travel plans and personal habits.⁷

The SWP was also the subject of the counterintelligence programs implemented by the FBI over a period of at least 25 years. The avowed purpose of the program was to disrupt "the SWP on a national, as well as local level." *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*.

Under the Cointelpro Program directed specifically at the SWP,⁸ at least 46 specific disruption operations were conducted by the FBI. The disruption included, among other activities,⁹ attempts to embarrass SWP candidates, cause the arrest of candidates, foment racial strife within the SWP and between the SWP and other groups, and cause strife between SWP supporters and others in a variety of political movements and coalitions.

For a period of approximately 20 years the FBI conducted warrantless electronic surveillance of the SWP, the conventions and National Committee meetings of the SWP, the home telephones of a number of leaders, the office of one leader and the hotel rooms of other leaders. In total, electronic surveillance was conducted for 32,000 days. The electronic eavesdropping resulted in the collection of all manner of information on political matters as well as a host of information on more personal matters.

In the same time period, the FBI conducted at least 204 black bag jobs, i.e., burglaries of the offices of the SWP. These burglaries were, of course, not the only means by which the government obtained documents; the informers regularly provided documents to the FBI and indeed themselves stole documents which were then given to the FBI.

From 1940 until at least 1976, the FBI maintained lists of the names, addresses, and employers of SWP members — variously identified on the Custodial Detention List, the Security Index and the Administrative Index — which targeted individuals for detention in the event of a "national emergency."

The purpose of these lists was to identify those individuals "considered by the FBI to be . . . potentially dangerous to the public safety and the internal security of the United States." From at least 1946 until 1976, membership in the

SWP was a basis for inclusion on these lists. Aside from the designation itself and the potential for detention of the individual, the fact of listing led to interviews of the individuals' landlords and employers which, at least until 1971, were conducted every 45 days.

Beginning in 1948, the SWP was included on the attorney general's list of organizations designated pursuant to Executive Order 9835 establishing the Employee Loyalty Program for certain employees of the executive branch of the government.¹⁰ Under the program, an employment application by a member of a listed organization was subjected to a full field investigation by the FBI, questioned concern-

History makes it apparent it is probable that disclosing names will result in threats, harassment, or reprisal . . .

ing his or her loyalty and this fact was used to determine whether to hire the individual.¹¹

Even after the attorney general's list was terminated in 1974, the FBI continued to report an individual's membership in the SWP. In later years, the FBI is prepared to describe the SWP as follows:

The SWP is a revolutionary, Trotskyist-communist organization which has as its purpose the overthrow of the U.S. Government and the institution of a dictatorship of the working class and the eventual achievement of a communist society.

The FBI ceased investigating the YSA/SWP in September 1976, pursuant to the Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic Security Investigations. Therefore, receipt of an allegation that an individual is a member of the YSA/SWP would no longer warrant an FBI investigation.¹²

It is, of course, against this extensive background of government harassment that any application of FECA must be gauged. Standing alone this background provides an overwhelming basis for nondisclosure under FECA. Indeed, as noted earlier, the history of political life in this country over the last five decades makes clear that persons associated with the SWP are reasonably probable to be the subject of harassment or threats from



Militant/Jesse Smith



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Meat-packer Bob Langemeier (above) was fingered by private cops for participation in union rallies and Iowa Militant Labor Forum. He was part of mid-1980s fightback in packinghouses in Midwest. At left, 1987 march for strikers at Patrick Cudahy slaughterhouse in Wisconsin.

Political Freedom (3rd edition, 1988).

10. E.O. 9835 provided that in determining loyalty to the government, one of the factors to be considered was an individual's membership in an organization designated by the attorney general "as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

Executive Order 9835 was subsequently amended by Executive Order 10241 and superceded by Executive Order 10450 so as to include all government civilian employees. The attorney general continued to maintain his list including the SWP throughout these changes.

11. There have been a number of instances in which the fact of the individual's association with the SWP affected his or her employment.

12. In 1986, after 13 years of litigation, the SWP received a damages award for the violations of its rights against the United States for the acts of the FBI in burglarizing its premises, conducting affirmative disruption operations against it, and employing informers to report on the SWP, its members, meetings and activities.

the government or private individuals.

Lest there be any question that this general and specific hostility which has been part of national policy for decades has continued, we briefly address some of the manifestations of this hostility in just the last few years.

As recently as 1987, in opposing a prohibition on the use of information obtained illegally by the FBI, the federal government asserted an interest in and need to know and record the names of members and individuals associated with the SWP. See *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* (1987). The government asserted its needs because, in its words, "it was — and is — reasonable for the FBI and other agencies of the Government to believe that the SWP and its members have a revolutionary ideology whose goal is the violent overthrow of our democratic processes and form of government."

In the government's view, this "revolutionary ideology . . . poses a threat to the fundamental interest of self-preservation," and the information on members was still essential to the government's loyalty-security program.

Representatives of various government agencies expressed their intent to use such information, and their fundamental antagonism toward the SWP, in clear terms. For example, the Office of Personnel Management argued that such "information [is] important because these organizations in the past were opposed to our form of Government and the national interest." Declaration of Gary B. Daniel.

The Department of State asserted its need for access to these files because of a need for information about, in its representative's words, "interaction with a group advancing a hostile ideology" for security clearances, and "information about any hostile organization which has consistently posed a threat to free governments. . . ." Declaration of Roger H. Robinson.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service claimed a need to know the identities of SWP supporters in order to enforce laws making an individual who advocates world communism or the establishment of totalitarian dictatorship deportable from this country, excludable from this country or ineligible for naturalization. Declaration of Edwin W. Dornell.¹³ See also Declaration of Thomas J. O'Brien explaining need for access to FBI files on the SWP because they "may serve to corroborate or establish an affiliation with" an organization "characterized by Executive Order 10450" for the purposes of investigations of members of the armed services, civilian employees and employees in industry by the Defense Investigative Service.

In ordering that illegally obtained information in the files amassed by the FBI not be made public or used in any way,¹⁴ the court specifically included in its order a presumption that the identities of "members" of the SWP were presumed to be protected from disclosure precisely because such information was not made public by the SWP and the individuals and precisely because such information was a primary goal of the extensive use of informers outlined previously.

These assertions of need and pronouncements of intended uses, make clear that, at least in the government's view, membership in and association with the SWP still provide a basis for harassment on the job, investigation and other deleterious impacts.¹⁵ Indeed, where the government characterizes the SWP as a "hostile organization which has consistently posed a threat to free governments," the reasonable probability of negative consequences from disclosure is readily apparent.

An equally open indicator of the reasonable probability of harassment is reflected in an article published in the *Midlands Business Journal* of April 21–27, 1989. The article promotes a security firm's services in connection with labor disputes and urges the companies to "screen" their employees. The services offered include access to an "extensive data base and information index on violent domestic organizations and communist and Marxist groups . . ." including both names and photographs.

The security firm identified as an example of the problems
Continued on next page

6. The facts concerning the government's generalized investigation of the Socialist Workers Party are drawn from this decision unless otherwise noted. In 1976, over the objections of the FBI, the Attorney General ostensibly terminated the generalized domestic security investigation of the SWP. In doing so, he specifically left open the possibility of reopening the investigation in the future, instructing that information concerning an asserted link between the SWP and a foreign-based political group "should be carefully watched" and that the emergence of "new facts on circumstances" may "justify investigation" and "a reconsideration would be in order."

7. Annexed as Exhibit A hereto is the Report of the Special Master in the litigation against the attorney general, the Honorable Charles D. Breitel. This report was prepared at the direction of the district court on the basis of a review of 18 informer files which served as a representative summary of the total of 1,300 informer files amassed between 1960 and 1976.

8. The SWP was also targeted for disruption under the auspices of the Cointelpro Programs directed against the Communist Party and the "New Left."

9. An overview of the disruption activities is set forth in *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*. A more detailed description of many of the disruption activities can be found in Nelson Blackstock, *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on*

13. There are numerous statutes in addition to these immigration provisions which place supporters of the SWP in danger of legal sanctions or harassment if their associations were made public. In addition to the Smith Act, there is a host of other legislation which potentially expose individuals to civil and criminal sanctions. See discussion in *FEC v. Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee*, and statutes surveyed in Appendix to Brief of Defendants-Appellee filed in that case.

14. The order provided that the information could not be used except pursuant to a court order or in response to a Freedom of Information Act. Of course, FOIA itself provides privacy protection.

15. The potential negative impacts of even a minor association with the SWP continue as is illustrated in *Clark v. Library of Congress*, (1984). There, a relatively low level employee of the Library of Congress was subjected to a full investigation by the FBI and apparently refused promotions to numerous low level positions based on the individual having attended several meetings of the Young Socialist Alliance (a group supportive of the SWP) and his name appearing on a mailing list of that group. Moreover, as the district court indicated in *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*, there may be situations in which the fact of association with the SWP would be the subject of inquiry in a loyalty-security investigation in connection with employment.

Continued from previous page

the firm addresses the "local union involved in the strike against Hormel (which) was absolutely infiltrated by the Socialist Workers Party, which is largely Marxist/Leninist," and claimed that in another case purportedly involving "sabotage of products," they checked their index and found several names of people "involved . . . with the Socialist Workers Party."

An employee of the same company testified at a hearing over the firing of a meat-packer by Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Fremont, Nebraska. The individual [Bob Langemeier] was fired, for among other reasons, speaking at a meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, sponsored by the *Militant*, a socialist newsmagazine, on the labor battle against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota. The employee admitted that he had videotaped a rally in support of the union. At the same hearing, another private investigator admitted that he had taped the meeting sponsored by the *Militant* newspaper by perching in a trash dumpster and holding a tape recorder to an air vent.

Other private groups have also harassed individuals associated with the SWP. From 1979 until 1989 an individual [Alan Gelfand] brought suit against the SWP and six of its leaders as well as various government agencies. After 10 years of litigation, the court dismissed the case, finding that the individual used the litigation in furtherance of his "motivation to disrupt the SWP," and had engaged in abusive, harassing discovery which had as one of its "main purposes . . . to generate material for political attacks on the SWP" by other groups. Indeed, the same private group [Workers League] which played a role in supporting this harassing litigation published materials identifying various individuals as members of the SWP, accusing SWP members of participating in intelligence-gathering for the government and coal companies and urged that "their activities should be treated accordingly."

The continued antagonism toward the SWP and the principles for which it stands has been reflected in a series of threats and violence over the last few years. For example, in February 1990, the local office of the SWP (located in the same premises as a bookstore in New York City) received threatening telephone calls the night before a meeting on Cuba was to be held in the premises. The callers referred to "you communist bastards" and threatened the individuals receiving the calls.

In January 1990, a series of threatening telephone calls were made to the storefront where the local SWP headquarters are located in Kansas City immediately after a meeting criticizing the U.S. invasion of Panama. The calls included

"History makes it apparent it is probable that disclosing names will result in threats, harassment, or reprisal . . ."

the threat "... we're going to get you, you pinko pigs" and "... you should be shot." Shortly thereafter, a rock was thrown through the window.¹⁶

In December 1989, an anonymous caller threatened to bomb the building in which the SWP national offices are located in New York City. The caller stated that "we're going to blow you up" and that "we're going to kill you commie motherfuckers."

The telephone threats were preceded by newspaper articles criticizing the preparation of a mural on the side of the building, known as the Pathfinder Mural, celebrating and depicting a number of revolutionary socialist figures and labor leaders, including Farrell Dobbs, James P. Cannon, Fred Halstead, Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed (all longtime leaders of the SWP), Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin and other leaders of the Communist International, Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara and Malcolm X.

One newspaper denounced the mural as a "celebration of totalitarianism" and questioned whether . . . it's appropriate to inflict such a mural on the sensibilities of ordinary New Yorkers" under the headline "Off the wall — and that's where it belongs." *New York Post*, Nov. 19, 1989. Another suggested that the words "R.I.P." and "never again" be added to the mural in the course of an editorial denouncing it. *The Daily News*, Nov. 19, 1989.

Shortly after the telephone calls, the mural on the building was defaced with paint thrown in bottles bearing swastikas.¹⁷

In Miami, Florida, over the past 10 years, there have been a series of fire bombings, threats and harassment of indi-



Militant SWP campaign headquarters shot up in New Orleans, February 1980. Right-wing threats and violence against the party and its supporters have continued, as described in letter to Federal Election Commission.

viduals who espouse or associate with individuals who espouse left-wing political views. These incidents range from the fire bombing of the bookstore in which the SWP maintained its local office in 1983 to the bombing of a local community college professor's home in 1988. The Socialist Workers Party was specifically denounced in 1985 by a mayoral candidate in Miami for what she described as setting "up a stand to sell openly communist books" as "these communists, enemies of liberty and democracy, openly conspire against the stability of the nation . . ."¹⁸

Aside from these acts of violence, individuals continue to be harassed by government authorities. On numerous occasions individuals distributing campaign and/or other literature have been subjected to harassment including arrest. For example, an SWP candidate was forced by police

18. The incidents set forth in Exhibits S-V, and X-CC were submitted to the court in *McArthur v. Smith*, (Fla. 1989).

officers to remove a campaign literature table in 1988 in Charleston, West Virginia, with the police telling the candidate, "I don't like what you have on your table and I order you to take it down." A week later, the candidate returned and was again ordered to remove the table under threat of arrest.

A number of individuals have been arrested for distributing such literature and convicted for connected offenses.¹⁹ In February 1989 a contribution form was returned to the SWP in an official Minneapolis Police Department envelope with "Bullshit" stamped on the form. And in 1987 the University of Houston revoked the YSA's campus organization status after a literature table was opened on the campus.

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1987, armed security guards ordered a campaign literature table removed from a public sidewalk, and two weeks later a literature table was overturned while local police officers watched.

Conclusion

Based on the foregoing, there is a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of the Socialist Workers Party's contributors and recipients will subject them to threats, harassment or reprisals. The showing reflects a deeply held

"In the government's view, association with the SWP still provides a basis for harassment on the job and investigation . . ."

hostility by the government and certain private groups against the SWP spanning decades and which for long periods of time was implemented by an intrusive investigation, harassment of members, burglaries, wiretaps, disruption and other equally oppressive activities.

The hostility on the part of the federal government has continued with various agencies expressing their need to know of individuals' associations with a group espousing a "hostile ideology." The hostility has erupted in numerous acts of violence, and threats of violence, including bombings and smashing of windows of SWP offices as well as other harassment. Individuals in the course of campaigning or distributing political literature have been harassed, threatened, and subjected to arrest.

The FEC should recognize, as it has in the past, that under the First Amendment the Socialist Workers Party campaign committees cannot be compelled to disclose information concerning their contributors or recipients.

19. Each of the convictions was subsequently reversed on appeal on First Amendment grounds. For example, in 1987, an individual selling *The Militant* was arrested in Masontown, Pennsylvania, convicted and fined \$350. His conviction was reversed on appeal because his "primary purpose was to discuss political ideas and topics contained in *The Militant*." Exhibit 5. In 1986, an individual was prosecuted for selling a book when she was handing out political fliers and selling books on the streets of Newark. Her conviction was overturned on appeal on First Amendment grounds.



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AIDS spread in the U.S. — a shift that spells disaster for the poor

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The pattern and spread of AIDS is shifting in the United States. Some signs are heartening, but most portend a disaster for growing numbers in the most impoverished and oppressed sections of society.

Drug treatments such as AZT, which delay or inhibit the onset of full-blown AIDS once a person is infected with the AIDS virus, have been available since 1987; they have contributed to a sharp decline, up to 36 percent fewer than expected, in the number of reported cases of AIDS among gay men, a study published in *The Journal of AIDS* reported.

Among infected gay men in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, the decline has been even greater — as much as 72 percent fewer reported cases than projected for the last six months of 1988.

The rate of infection with the AIDS virus over the last five years also dropped five-fold among gay men. The dramatic decline reflects changes in sexual behavior, particu-

mostly in the Black and Latino communities.

The rampant spread of AIDS among intravenous drug users coincided with a sharp rise since 1987 in the incidence of syphilis and a form of gonorrhea resistant to penicillin and with a deterioration in medical care in the poorest communities. Reported cases of syphilis in the United States are at a 40-year high. This rise of venereal disease has hit Blacks, Latinos, and immigrants from semicolonial countries hardest.

It also intersected with the proliferation of crack in the later 1980s. Crack is a highly addictive form of cocaine. It is smoked, not injected intravenously. And because the drug is relatively cheap, it is an easy lure to youth.

The rise of crack use has spurred prostitution among some of these users — for money to buy the drug or in exchange for the drug itself. The prostitution has in turn helped feed the increase of venereal disease, and crack houses, where the drug is sold and used, have served to amplify this trend.

The convergence of these factors appears to be giving rise to a fourth wave in the spread of AIDS as the 1990s open. While only about 5 percent of all full-fledged AIDS cases in the country have been attributed to vaginal intercourse, AIDS is now spreading more quickly this way than any other.

The Federal Centers for Disease Control reports that from 1988 to 1989, cases of AIDS contracted through vaginal intercourse jumped 36 percent nationally. Exposure through vaginal intercourse, which accounted for 13 percent of female AIDS cases in 1983, accounted for 30 percent of cases diagnosed in women last year.

Recent research in New York city clinics show a change in female-to-male transmission, uncommon earlier in the spread of AIDS. In couples in which one partner was an IV drug user and the other was not, the transmission of AIDS is about equal from men to women and women to men, with 10 to 13 percent becoming infected.

In some parts of the United States this turn is beginning to resemble the pattern of AIDS transmission in Central and East Africa. The common features include a high rate of untreated venereal diseases, a more even spread of the syndrome — hitting men and women in equal numbers, poverty which breeds poor health, and the lack of adequate medical care.

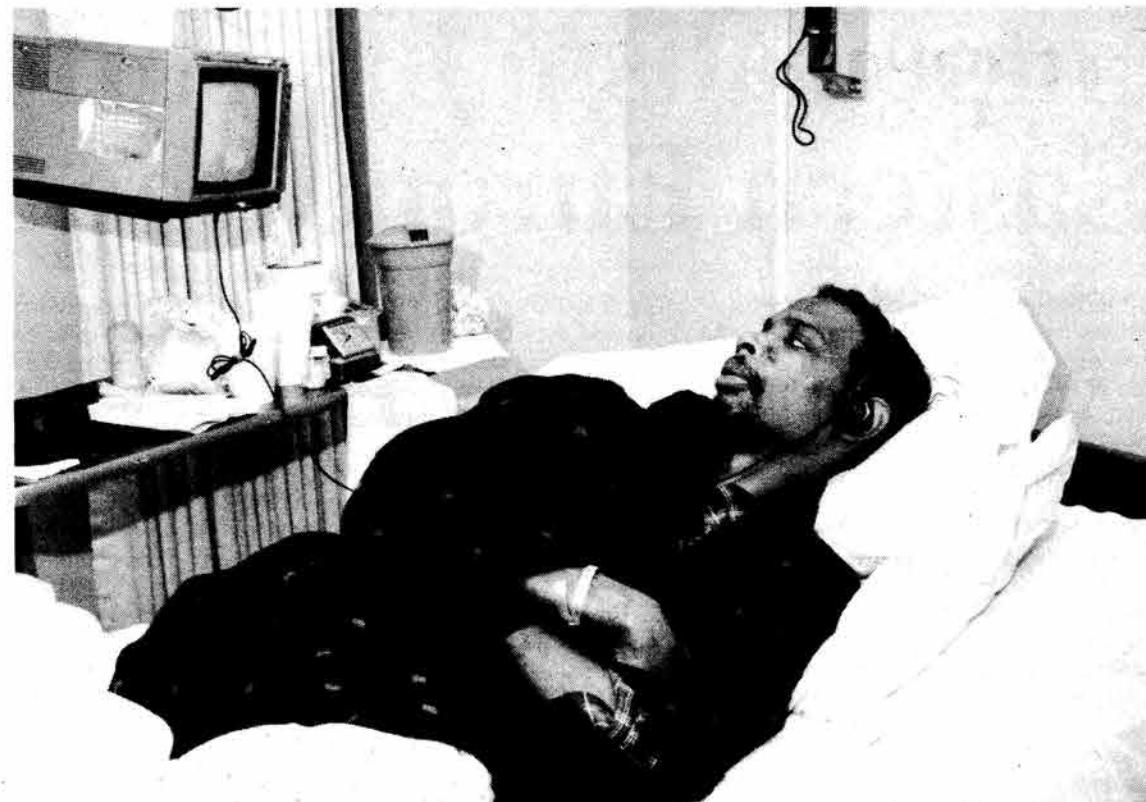
This shift is not the indiscriminate spread of AIDS to the population at large predicted by many people a few years ago. Its parameters are limited by the way the AIDS virus is spread and by social conditions in the better-off sections of society.

The AIDS virus has proven to be fragile and dies quickly outside the body.

Unlike influenza or tuberculosis, it is not spread by coughs and sneezes; unlike malaria or plague, it is not carried by insects; unlike cholera, it is not carried in contaminated food or water; unlike smallpox, it can not be passed by casual skin contact; and unlike venereal diseases, it does not thrive in bodily fluids other than blood and semen, or enter the body through mucous membranes. There is no substantial evidence that AIDS can be passed through vaginal secretions, saliva, tears, or mucous.

It can only be transmitted through an infected person's blood or semen making direct contact with the bloodstream of a person not infected.

Statements that AIDS is passed through "sexual intercourse" or "sexual contact" or "exchange of bodily fluids" are misleading



Impact Visuals/Ansen Horn

AIDS is now the leading factor in the growing gap in life expectancy between Blacks and whites. It is the top killer of Black women between 15 and 44.

Drugs like AZT have contributed to a sharp decline in AIDS cases.

larly the widespread abandonment of anal intercourse with multiple partners, which has been a leading cause of infection in this section of the population.

Intensive educational programs organized by peer groups and organizations have been centrally responsible for this change, particularly among white middle-class gay men in urban centers.

Struggles in some cities by gay rights activists to confront commercial sex establishments — primarily bathhouses where anonymous high-risk sex practices were rampant among a layer of gay men in the '70s and early '80s — also helped shift the tide.

The progress in altering the spread of AIDS among gay men, however, may be in jeopardy. For example, in Chicago the infection growth rate of 1 percent in 1988 doubled in 1989 to 2 percent. Nationally an infection rate of 1 to 2 percent affects an estimated 50,000 to 200,000 gay men annually.

Relapses to unsafe sex practices and the failure of AIDS education programs to reach gay men who are Black and Latino and gay men in their teens and early 20s are blamed for the rise.

More than 136,000 cases of AIDS have been recorded in the United States since 1981 and 83,000 have died. Gay men, who comprise the majority of AIDS fatalities, account for more than 60 percent of those cases.

Among intravenous drug users, a group that is predominantly made up of poor Blacks and Latinos who do not have access to the life-saving drugs, AIDS is on the rise. In 1988, 9,709 cases were reported; 10,108 cases were reported in 1989, a 4 percent increase. Tens of thousands of IV drug users have the AIDS virus.

This surge has potentially devastating implications. AIDS is now growing most rapidly among heterosexual sex partners of IV drug users and there are signs that it is moving into layers of the population that overlap socially with these groups.

In the United States, AIDS spread in three waves over the last decade. The syndrome first appeared in large numbers at the beginning of the decade among a layer of gay men. By the middle of the decade AIDS struck hemophiliacs, who contracted the disease through contaminated blood products. It later spread widely among intravenous drug users,

and are false. It is only transmitted under specific conditions and by specific practices, and solely by blood or semen. Some examples of the way the AIDS virus is transmitted are:

- Using hypodermic needles contaminated with AIDS-infected blood to inject intravenous drugs.

- Engaging in anal intercourse with infected partners. Repeated penetration of the anus often causes tears in the rectal lining, which has many blood vessels near the surface. The chance of semen-to-blood or blood-to-blood transmission of the AIDS virus during anal intercourse is thus very high.

- Transmitting AIDS during vaginal intercourse is much more difficult. The walls of the vagina are thick and the skin is not normally broken during sexual intercourse. AIDS has, therefore, not spread indiscriminately among heterosexuals or women. The exception is when sores on the genitals caused by venereal disease are involved.

Venereal diseases, such as syphilis, gonorrhea, herpes, and chlamydia, cause open

AIDS has not spread indiscriminately as predicted by many people.

lesions in the genital area and increase the chance of getting infected with the AIDS virus because they provide a route for an infected partner's blood or semen directly into the other's bloodstream.

Researchers of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases studied 4,863 patients in two clinics in Baltimore that treat sexually transmitted diseases. Among heterosexuals who denied using intravenous drugs, those who had syphilis were seven to nine times more likely to have AIDS than other patients at the clinics.

For clinic patients under 25 years old, researchers found 72 percent of the women infected with the AIDS virus in 1988 and 46 percent of the men denied engaging in any activity other than heterosexual sex that would put them at risk for AIDS, a sharp

increase from a similar survey a year earlier.

In New Jersey, which has the highest rate of AIDS after New York, nearly one of 10 AIDS patients contracted the syndrome through vaginal intercourse, twice the rate in the rest of the United States. The number of cases of penicillin-resistant gonorrhea in New Jersey rose to 2,787 last year from 717 in 1987. The number of syphilis patients jumped to 1,507 in 1989 from 748 in 1987. Newark, New Jersey's largest city and largely Black, ranks fifth in the country in the total number of AIDS cases.

The impact of AIDS on the Black community is reflected in AIDS being the leading factor in the growing gap in life expectancy between Blacks and whites.

In New York 1988 figures show more Blacks, 1,098 males and 330 females, died from AIDS than any other category of the syndrome's fatalities. AIDS is now the leading killer of Black women between 15 and 44 years old in New York and New Jersey. This represents a change from earlier stages of the epidemic when white gay males accounted for most AIDS deaths in New York.

The New York State Health Department's 1988 figures showed that the rate of infection with the AIDS virus was higher among Blacks and Latinos than any other section of the population.

Black women giving birth and their infants were 13 times more likely to have the AIDS virus than white women giving birth. The ratios were one of every 57 Black mothers, compared with one of every 781 white mothers.

Statistics prepared by the California State Health Department in 1989 showed that AIDS is spreading more swiftly among Blacks in that state than any other part of the population.

Among Blacks and Latinos that have died from AIDS in New York, Puerto Rican migrants have the greatest male AIDS mortality rate — 362 per 100,000, compared to 267 for Blacks, or 217 for other Latinos. Puerto Rico, the U.S. colony in the Caribbean, has a rate of new AIDS cases three times the national average of the United States.

Acquired immune deficiency syndrome

AIDS, the acquired immune deficiency syndrome, is a series of health problems, not a disease. It is primarily caused by the human immunodeficiency virus, or HIV, that attacks a person's immune system and damages their ability to fight disease.

Without a functioning immune system, the person becomes vulnerable to a legion of viral infections, parasites, fungi, and cancers, including ones that would rarely cause illnesses in a person with a healthy immune system. Eventually the onslaught kills a person.

A 1988 report by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences states that, over time, a growing portion of people infected with HIV go on to develop AIDS in the absence of effective therapies to slow or halt the progression of the infection. The incubation period, the time between infec-

tion with HIV and the progressive weakening of the immune system to the point of AIDS, can be up to 12 years.

It seems likely that a number of "co-factors" — other infections, use of drugs, malnutrition — have an impact on the progression of HIV infection to full-blown AIDS. As a result, a growing number of AIDS scientists and doctors consider that HIV infection requires treatment to inhibit or delay the onset of AIDS.

Every person who is infected with HIV can infect other people even if they themselves appear to be healthy. And short of finding a way to kill the virus, they will remain infectious for the rest of their lives.

There is no cure for AIDS, and there is no vaccine.

According to the World Health Organization, 700,000 people worldwide have AIDS and 5 million are infected with HIV.

Imperialism has suffered a defeat in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union

The following is the first in a series of articles based on a report adopted by the June session of the 35th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. It has been edited to take into account events since the convention that illustrate some of the main political themes of the report.

BY JAMES HARRIS

World capitalism has suffered a historic defeat in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Despite decades of bureaucratic misrule the nationalized property relations in these countries, where capitalist political rule and economic domination were overturned, have survived. This conquest by working people has proven to be stronger than the counterrevolutionary Stalinist regimes. The blows being struck by the toiling masses of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union against Communist Party domination in these countries and for more elbow room to politically discuss and organize are advances that help workers and farmers everywhere.

Exposing the governing regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as obstacles to political freedom and economic development helps clear the way for working people in these countries to break out of the cocoon of political isolation they were driven into. It means they are in a stronger position to defend their rights, class interests, and past economic and social conquests. They are on a better footing to link their struggles with those of workers and farmers around the world.

Contrary to public opinion fostered by the capitalist ruling classes, world imperialism is not getting a second wind as a result of the blows being struck against Stalinism. The opposite is the case. The greatest blow is being dealt to imperialism.

The truth, however, does not stop the ruling classes from proclaiming themselves the victors in the Cold War. They claim that communism is dead and that the "free market" has won out. All that remains is for capitalism to pick up the spoils.

The alleged victors, however, do not seem to be willing or able to pick up their prizes or even to be capable of explaining exactly what it is they have won. This is because they have not won anything.

The capitalist ruling classes the world over, in fact, have less influence and control over the course of international events than at any time since the end of World War II. Summit meetings between Washington and Moscow have less weight in world politics than ever before. Washington is less able than ever to speak, negotiate, and act as the undisputed leader of a world imperialist alliance, and Moscow is no longer able to speak for the Warsaw Pact, or even for growing parts of the "Union" of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The June summit meeting between U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was an example of this. Gorbachev was in the United States negotiating with Bush while the Russian republic was discussing secession from the USSR. This is hardly a position of bargaining strength for Gorbachev.

The U.S. press even asked Bush about the incongruity of carrying on negotiations with a man who was so weak at home. This prompted Bush to counter with the statement that Gorbachev looked quite "strong" to him. What else could Bush say? Any other stance would expose the increasing irrelevance of these meetings, which are professed to be of such crucial importance in the workings of world politics.

The imperialist ruling classes, and Washington above all, are worried about the growing economic and political instability result-

ing from the upheavals in Eastern and Central Europe over the past year. An example of their concern was reflected in the following exchange at a joint news conference in February by President Bush and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Reporter: "Who is the enemy these days? Would one purpose of... keeping NATO intact and keeping U.S. troops within NATO in Germany be to... keep the Germans down?"

Bush: "The enemy is unpredictability, the enemy is instability.... Who out here was smart enough to predict for fact certain the changes that have taken place any time in the last year?... The Soviet Union is engaged in dramatic change, but nobody can predict for fact certain what will come. And so what we have to do is use our good offices and our alignment with NATO to help with stability."

Kohl answered in the same vein: "We must do everything possible in order to avoid destabilization in Europe, in particular in Eastern Europe. I will do whatever I can to respond to that aim. As a matter of fact, I do

was forced to back down and demobilize the bulk of its armed forces.

When the U.S. rulers attempted a hot war in Korea in 1950-53 in order to restore capitalism in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and strike a blow at the Soviet Union and China, they failed. They were fought to a stalemate in Korea. In fact, the war led to the deepening of the Chinese revolution.

In 1949 the USSR successfully tested its first nuclear bomb, which made the use of nuclear weapons by Washington a far more dangerous proposition. This took another key element away from the U.S. imperialists in their plan to establish the "American century," as they claimed during World War II that they were about to do. Nuclear blackmail could now no longer be as effective.

Also during and after the war, the rise of national liberation movements led to the break from colonial domination and establishment of independent countries by millions formerly ruled from Washington, Tokyo, or the European capitals.

The "American century" never came into



"Get us home," demanded 20,000 GI's in Manila, the Philippines, January 1946. Washington was blocked from conducting a hot war in the immediate aftermath of World War II by the refusal of U.S. GI's to stay in the Far East or Europe.

not only agree with the president on this but also with General Secretary Gorbachev."

The imperialist rulers view what is happening as dangerous and unpredictable. But they are helpless to stop these developments or to channel them into a more favorable direction for themselves. They have little leverage and no ideas about where to begin.

Moreover, the continued weakening of U.S. capitalism's economic power relative to Germany and Japan, as inter-imperialist rivalry intensifies, means the imperialists confront events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union with sharper conflicts among themselves. This could be seen at the recent NATO summit meeting held in London and the economic summit held in Houston.

What was the Cold War?

To understand the predicament that the capitalists now find themselves in, it is necessary to recognize that they are not the victors in the Cold War. They are the losers and have been losing for some time.

The initiation of the Cold War itself was not an advance for the imperialists. It was forced upon them by the relationship of forces that emerged from World War II. The Cold War was imposed on imperialism because it could not carry out its goal of restoring capitalism through a hot war to the countries where it had been overturned.

They were blocked from conducting a hot war in the immediate aftermath of World War II by the refusal of U.S. GI's to stay in the Far East or Europe to be used as cannon fodder against the Chinese revolution or to take back Eastern Europe. The GI's organized "Bring Us Home" protests and Washington

being. The imperialists emerged from the war with too many restrictions on their use of military power to establish their objectives. Neither Washington nor its drastically weakened European allies could use military force to restore capitalism to Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and the other countries where it had been abolished.

They were reduced during the Cold War to attempting to contain any extension of the revolutionary overturn of imperialist domination and capitalist property relations. Their strategic effort was to apply pressure to the bureaucratic castes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

With the bureaucratic castes in power, the capitalist rulers could be assured of two things. First, these castes did not fight to extend the revolutionary overturn of imperialist domination and capitalist rule internationally. They sought stability and peaceful coexistence with imperialism.

Second, the castes continued to police the working class and keep it isolated from the struggles of workers and peasants around the world, with all the depoliticizing and demoralizing consequences that flow from that. The imperialists hoped that this would weaken the workers' states enough that they could be overthrown by military attack at another time.

But this is not what happened. The CP-dominated regimes are now discredited; the people have thrown off some of them and severely weakened the control of others. These castes can no longer guarantee stability the way they used to. The barriers that stood in the way of workers and farmers entering politics and acting in their own interest are

far less formidable than just a few months ago. Imperialist interests can now no longer be easily hidden behind those of the bureaucracy.

The Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union do not govern in the interests of the working masses and are incapable of doing so. Nor are they neutral governing bodies that stand above class interests. The regimes and the parties they utilize reflect the class interests of the petty-bourgeois castes that stand above the workers and farmers and oppress them. They are an obstacle to any movement toward socialism.

The caste is a massive, petty-bourgeois social layer numbering in the tens of millions in the countries where capitalist rule was overturned. They are not workers nor are they capitalists. Their social base comes from their parasitic relationship to state property. Their dominant social position allows them to rake off and consume a huge portion of the national income — wealth produced by workers and farmers.

They separate themselves more and more from the basic conditions of the working classes. They have better food, medical care, methods of birth control, and education; summer houses, and privileged access to recreation, entertainment, and travel.

The conditions of life of the caste make it a transmission belt for ideas, values, and practices that are antisocialist and reactionary. They have the least reason or inclination to extend the revolution or fight to establish socialism. And they are the first to reflect the pressures from imperialism and to seek compromise with it.

The values held by the caste are bourgeois values: fear and loathing of the working masses, class elitism, racism, national chauvinism, and anti-Semitism; reactionary views on women and the family; and fear of unfettered scientific experimentation and debate. They are bureaucratic in relation to the arts and artistic creation. They are anti-internationalist.

In the name of communism

This layer has tied the hands of the working classes, stole from it, lied to it, depolitized it, dissipated its energies and sealed it off from its allies around the world. *And one of their worst crimes is that they have done all this in the name of communism.*

In many ways the toilers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had been frozen out of history for decades. They had been frozen out of contact and interaction with the makers of history — the workers and farmers of the world.

They have not even experienced the immigration from the Third World that working people in the imperialist countries have. Except for the Soviet Union — where there is some labor exchange between the European and Asian republics — workers in Eastern and Central Europe have largely not had the chance to work side by side with workers from other parts of the world.

They are not allowed to travel freely, even in their own countries, much less abroad. Their access to information has been tightly restricted, and the method of the big lie has dominated the press, education, and all aspects of public life.

While the bureaucracy — for reasons of its own state interests — has had relations with governments and revolutionary movements and organizations, the workers themselves have been walled off from contact and active solidarity with fighters for national liberation and social justice around the world. What they know about these struggles is often seen through the prism of their relations with the hated bureaucratic regimes. This served only to undermine internationalism in the working class.

As they engage in struggles, the workers and farmers of Eastern and Central Europe and the Soviet Union will learn about world politics and the experiences of working people in other countries and from other times.

The big-business media, capitalist officials, and "opinion makers" present a picture that Eastern and Central Europe and the Soviet Union are about to become capitalist. They strive mightily to create the impression that capitalism is just around the corner. They report every new policy announced by the

various regimes as the beginning of capitalist restoration. And they interpret every justifiable expression by working people of dissatisfaction and hatred toward the way they have been forced to live and work for decades as a desire for capitalism. Bourgeois economists at universities and "think tanks" in the United States and other imperialist countries are shooting off plans to Eastern Europe and the USSR with schemes for restoring capitalism, urging the regimes to get on with it.

The idea that capitalism is on its way to being reestablished in Eastern Europe is also promoted by prominent spokespeople for the bureaucracy itself and by the new governments that have replaced the previous CP-dominated regimes. They increasingly seek to solve the accelerating economic and social crises by relying on capitalist methods and daily proclaim the virtue of the "free market."

All of these forces predicting rapid capitalist restoration, however, reckon without the working class in these countries.

The workers in the Eastern and Central European countries will fight — and are already fighting — the inevitable social and economic consequences of moves toward greater use of capitalist methods. They will fight the devastating results on their daily lives — layoffs, removal of price controls and subsidies on basic necessities, rent hikes, further gutting of the guaranteed social wage, speed-up, and the corrupt selling-off of hunks of state property for a song.

Working farmers are already signaling they will resist capitalist-oriented policies that threaten their livelihood and menace them with being driven off the land.

Moves can't bring back capitalism

The moves that the various new governments in Eastern and Central Europe are making today cannot bring back capitalism, not the modern capitalism that has existed since the industrial revolution.

Simply expanding the circulation of commodities on the market is not capitalism. Nor is opening a McDonald's in Moscow. Setting up a room with a few computers in it and calling it a stock exchange — as they have done in Hungary — is not a step toward a modern stock exchange. Nor is selling private shares to state-owned companies to everybody in Poland going to restore capitalism.

Despite all the talk, the overwhelming bulk of industrial capacity is still state property throughout Eastern and Central Europe and the Soviet Union. No major industrial sector has yet been privatized anywhere — nor have very many individual factories or enterprises.

Modern industrial capitalism exists when the major means of production, linked with banking capital, are owned and run by capitalists who — through their cutthroat competition — establish an average rate of industrial profit and the price levels on most commodities.

This does not exist in any of the workers' states, and reestablishing it is not on the immediate horizon. There will be no peaceful evolution to capitalism. Reimposing it will take a bloody counterrevolution to defeat the working class.

The social relations in Eastern Europe continue to be based on nationalized property in industry, wholesale trade, and banking; state monopoly of foreign trade; and a planned economy. Overturning these social relations takes more than rewriting laws or setting up a currency union. The currency union that has just gone into effect in Germany, for example, does not settle how workers from East Germany will respond to sharp price rises, unemployment, cuts in social benefits, and homelessness. All that will be determined in struggle.

Bureaucrats and capitalist restoration

The bureaucrats throughout the enormous apparatus of the state and nationalized economy are themselves a source of resistance to capitalist restoration. This is not because they do not wish to be capitalists. They have capitalist aspirations and values. But that is not enough. They confront big difficulties that block them from going in this direction and that have prevented them from doing so in the past.

For the bureaucrats to preside over the



Sanitation workers on strike in East Germany on June 26, 1990. The currency union does not settle how workers from East Germany will respond to price rises, unemployment, cuts in social benefits, and homelessness.

restoration of capitalism they would have to figure out how to make the shift and at the same time be assured that they will become the capitalists. They are not altruistic. They demand to know what is in it for them. At least under the existing system, they hope to continue feeding at the trough of state property and living off the backs of the workers.

How do the millions of bureaucrats go about choosing who among them will get the factories, the mines, the land, the banks? Who gets the relatively more efficient and profitable enterprises? Who gets the lemons? — and there are lots of lemons. Much of the industrial capacity of the workers' states is old-fashioned and inefficient.

The members of the caste are not capitalists. They do not already own capital. They do not have the wherewithal, by and large, to buy the industries themselves and to invest the necessary capital to run them.

If capitalism were restored in these countries, the names of the biggest capitalists in Eastern Europe would rapidly become Rockefeller, Krupp, and those of other ruling-class families from North America and Western Europe. Moreover, restoration would not come through massive capital investment by these wealthy families: finance capital has more secure investment prospects, even in today's world. They put their capital where they anticipate the highest and most stable profit rates.

Risky investment

The imperialists are not about to risk enormous amounts of money in a situation as unstable as the current situation in Eastern Europe and the USSR — no matter what promises Gorbachev, Lech Wałęsa, or Vaclav Havel make. Poland, for example, has already experienced strikes and other labor actions, as well as farmers' protests, against even initial steps by the new government to lift price controls and lay off tens of thousands of workers. And these have happened while some 90 percent of the industry in Poland remains state-owned.

To restore capitalism, the imperialists have to take on and defeat the working classes. But the capitalist rulers are in a weakened position to do this — more so than at any time since the end of World War II. They are not in a position to militarily invade any of the countries of Eastern or Central Europe and restore capitalist property relations. Workers in the imperialist countries would go into the streets in the millions against any effort by the capitalists to launch a war against any of the workers' states today.

The working class is the only reliable source of defense of the workers' states, as well as being the only source of their regeneration and progress toward socialism. The bureaucrats and the new regimes throughout Eastern and Central Europe fear the working class. They fear that a workers' rebellion against the devastating consequences of their policies could sweep them aside, and they are right.

In the Soviet Union, for example, Boris Yeltsin — the newly elected president of the Russian Soviet republic — has been one of the most vocal proponents of the need for more rapid transition to a "free market." Faced with mass popular outrage in May and June against announced price increases on bread and other goods, however, Yeltsin said,

"We must find another transition to the market economy that does not lead to a deterioration in the standard of living."

But that is not possible. Increased reliance on capitalist mechanisms will inevitably involve a major assault on the living conditions and social wage of the workers and farmers.

Much play has been made in the big-business media about the alleged procapitalist state of mind of the workers in Eastern Europe. Their desire for change, for better living standards, and for an end to the corruption and privileges of the bureaucrats are all glibly equated to a desire for capitalism. Workers' desire for political freedom — to get the bureaucracy's spies and cops off their backs — is called a desire for capitalism. The consumerism and commodity fetishism promoted for decades by the Stalinist regimes — which are a real barrier to communist consciousness — are equated in the capitalist media with conscious and active support for capitalism by workers.

The understanding that these workers have of communism is based upon their experiences with the bureaucracy which cloaked its anticommunist activities under the name of communism. Every attack on the workers' standard of living and political freedom was justified in the name of communism. Attempts to fight against their oppressive conditions were called anticommunist.

But despite these lies the working class is not and will not become the social base for a movement to restore capitalism in these countries. They are interested in improving their living conditions and working conditions. They want things to get better for themselves and their families and they are willing to sacrifice and fight for this.

Workers are not fighting to introduce widespread unemployment, a fundamental reality under capitalism. Just the opposite.

Workers are not fighting to be paid even less than they are now, another consequence for a majority of workers if capitalism were reimposed. They are not fighting to lower the social wage; they want to expand it.

The advocates of the "free market" and capitalist methods tell the workers to have faith and to grit their teeth, that things will get worse before they will get better. That has been proven to be true already. Things are getting worse. And we are now beginning to see the first forms of working-class resistance.

As a result of decades of Stalinism, however, these workers enter into political life today without socialist consciousness. This weakens the effectiveness of their struggles to defend their gains. But even at their current level of political understanding, struggles by workers generally limited to trade union consciousness — that is, fighting around wages and working conditions — are still a big obstacle to the implementation of capitalism.

As a result of the conquests won with the overturn of capitalist property relations, workers in these countries do not accept some things that are taken for granted as norms under capitalism.

In the workers' states, for example, there are no business cycles that regularly throw millions out of work every few years and depress wages. Under capitalism, we have grown to expect these cycles and their often devastating results almost in the same way we accept the changing of the seasons.

Workers in the Eastern European countries, however, do not accept unemployment as natural, as part of life.

These workers have come to think that they have a right to a historically defined minimum social wage — low cost health care, free tuition, low rents, subsidized food prices and inexpensive public transportation — as a legitimate part of their wages. Their attitude is unlike that of workers in any capitalist country — even in the "welfare states" of capitalist Europe.

This is not because the social wage has been so great in the bureaucratically mismanaged economies of the workers' states. We have become more aware of the sorry state of health care, housing, and education in these countries. They are not models to be held up to our coworkers as examples of socialism by any means.

But workers in these countries do believe these social guarantees to be *social rights*. And they will fight to block further erosion and dismantling of them.

Peace, not war, needed for progress

Workers in Eastern and Central Europe and the Soviet Union also believe that peace, not war, is a prerequisite for economic and social progress. This, too, is different from workers in capitalist countries, who do not like war and are its heaviest victims, but who do believe — on the basis of the World War II- and Vietnam-fueled economic booms — that military spending and wars somehow help the economy.

These social and political attitudes and expectations are part of the mass consciousness of working people in the workers' states. They stand as a roadblock to implementing steps toward capitalism, whether this is how workers explain it or not.

Workers in these countries will find as they fight that more than trade union consciousness and organization is needed to ensure any lasting and stable defense of their gains. As Eastern Europe becomes increasingly drawn into relations with the world capitalist economy, these workers will be confronted with imperialism and its demands. The key for them, like workers in capitalist countries, will be the need to form a revolutionary leadership and become part of the international struggle of working people.

The apparatuses of the petty-bourgeois bureaucrats that falsely called themselves Communist Parties are crumbling. The workers will confront the need to build real communist parties composed of the most disciplined, combative, self-sacrificing, and politically conscious fighters from their ranks.

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31 Years of the Cuban Revolution: What Is the Future for Socialism? Speaker: Sue Skinner, SWP candidate for governor, member United Transportation Union. Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

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The Reunification of Germany. Speaker: Arnold Weissberg, Socialist Workers Party, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. Sat., July 28, 7 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

COLORADO

Denver

Celebrate the Cuban Revolution. Picnic, music, videotape. Sat., July 28, 3 p.m. La Elma Park, 12th and Mariposa. For more information call 936-4452.

FLORIDA

Miami

Reunification of Germany. Speaker: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 1126. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 2137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Housing Is a Right. Speakers: Anthony Knighton, homeless activist; Daryl Drobnić, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 442. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Labor Movement is at the Center of U.S. Politics: The Meaning of the Eastern Strike. Speakers: representative International Association of Machinists Local 1726 on strike against Eastern Airlines; Dave Ferguson, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1. Sun., July 22, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

German Reunification and the Democratic Upsurge in Eastern Europe: What They Mean for Working People. Speaker: Lea Sherman, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 26. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 5019½ Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

Austin

The Crisis Facing Working Farmers. Speakers: Kathie Fitzgerald, activist in labor and farm struggles, member International Association of Machinists Local 141; Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Minnesota. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 407½ N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

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Class 1. Sat., July 21, 1 p.m.
Class 2. Sat., July 28, 1 p.m.
Class 4. Sat., Aug. 4, 1 p.m.

"Hands Off Cuba" Coalition. Tel: (202) 234-2000.

WEST VIRGINIA

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The Struggle for Political Rights in Eastern Europe: What It Means for Working People. Speaker: Maggie McCraw, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state treasurer, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union Local 3-89. Sat., July 28, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Working People's Stake in Defending the Environment. A panel discussion with Rich Petras, Citizens for a Clean Environment; John DiBiase, president Greene CAPS and United Mine Workers of America Local 6310; representative of MOVE; Joe Kleidon, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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After the Battle. Video of Cuban and South African veterans talking about the battle of Cuito Cuanavale, Angola. Sat., July 21, 7 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: 0222-484677.

London

Justice for Mark Curtis. Speaker: Denny Fitzpatrick, recently returned from UN Helsinki Conference. Fri., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 71-928-7947.

Manchester

Africa Called, Cuba Answered. Video showing of After the Battle. Wed., July 25, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield

Celebrate the Cuban Revolution: 37 Years from Moncada. Speaker: Wendy Knight, recently returned from Cuba. Fri., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

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Cuba Today. Report from participants in recent farmers' tour to Cuba. Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. Engineers Union Hall, 292 Cashel St. For more information call (3) 663-974.

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NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Brooklyn: 464 Bergen St. Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 398-6983. **New York:** 197 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cleveland: 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** P.O. Box 20297. Zip: 43202.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 9 E. Chelten Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 848-5044.

Pittsburgh: 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: 253 E. Main St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown: 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA: Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills, Sydney NSW 2010. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BRITAIN: Cardiff: 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Postal code: CF2 1EJ. Tel: 0222-484677.

ICELAND: Reykjavík: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND: Auckland: 157a Symonds St. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

SWEDEN: Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

The culture market — David Chase, a Connecticut wheeler-dealer, says he won the rights to wire



Harry
Ring

Poland for cable and this is important "because we want our culture to be exported to Poland."

Any suggestions? — Per capita, the U.S. people spend the most on health care, but only 10 percent are satisfied with the result

— the lowest score in a 10-country poll. The other nine have national health plans. Pollsters said cutbacks in employer coverage and loss of coverage on leaving a job were the big U.S. worries. In the other countries, they found, this concern was "almost nonexistent."

Government morality — In a mass experiment, Britons are being asked to swim in polluted water to see if they get sick. But it was decided it would be unethical to ask them to dip in water with dangerously high sewage levels. Thus popular Blackpool beach is off limits for the test. Meanwhile, ethically enough, there are no warning signs there for the public.

Meals on wheels — In the Los Angeles area, check out Critter Caterers. They deliver pet food, toys, and treats. Their specialty, biscuits with quality ingredients. They're so good, pet owners reportedly say they eat them too.

Zip-zan — Posh hair stylists report that clients are doing business while getting their hair cut. Like, at the Vidal Sassoon salon in Chicago, a writer turns out copy on her laptop computer and whips it off to her publisher on the salon's fax machine. She's doing a book on the 10 years she spent in Asia studying meditation.

The caring system — "WASHINGTON (AP) — More than a third

of the nation's nursing homes offering skilled care failed to meet standards for clean food in surprise inspections . . . and nearly a quarter did not administer drugs properly, according to the government's latest consumer guide."

Be well — "WASHINGTON — Congressional investigators have found that more than half of the new drugs approved for marketing in this country have some severe or fatal side effects not found in testing, or not reported until years after the medications have been widely used." — News item.

March of perestroika — Available so far only in Moscow, Baskin-Robbins' newest flavor is

gorbachocolate.

Pretty seedy — In D.C., Baskin-Robbins could test market "bushberry."

Big-Apple green — Enterprising New York shops are offering a variety of items to help householders sort their refuse for recycling. Like, a roll of nylon twine, in a dispenser, \$39.98. Or, a double-chamber kitchen garbage can, \$169.

Empty the piggy box — They're on display at New York's Museum of Modern Art — a set of Panasonic speakers shaped to suggest a tuba. A museum curator says they represent "a significant departure from the concept of the speaker as a box." \$2,000 a pair.

Mohawks hold back attack by Québec police

Continued from front page

land claim by the Kanesatake Mohawks is one of 468 outstanding Native land claims in Canada.

The conflict escalated on June 30 when Oka Mayor Jean Oullette succeeded in getting a court injunction ordering that the barricades be torn down. The Mohawks refused, and on July 10 the mayor called on the Québec police to enforce the injunction. The next morning the police invaded the Mohawk territory.

Expansion plan for exclusive golf club

The proposed expansion of the golf course is opposed by the majority of Oka area residents — Mohawk and non-Mohawk alike. Residents resent the city's turning over the land to the exclusive golf club. It costs \$10,000 to join this club in which the mayor has a vested interest. Last summer when a march was organized to protest the golf course expansion, "Québécois marched together with us," said Watahine, a Mohawk resident of Oka.

Throughout the day on July 11 police began tightening their grip on Oka. By early morning hours the next day, up to 2,000 Québec provincial police had turned the village of Oka into an armed camp. Blockades were set up to prevent non-Oka residents from entering. And cops refused to let Mohawk residents of Oka return, explicitly informing them it was because they were Natives.

Police shut off water to Kanesatake and Oka for several hours July 12. They continue to cut off badly needed food and medical supplies to the Mohawks behind the barricades at Kanesatake. Police search the cars of those entering or leaving Oka at gunpoint.

At least a dozen journalists have been detained and questioned; several have had their film and tapes destroyed; and one was arrested.

Cop harassment of Natives in the area has substantially increased. A Mohawk truck driver told of how Natives were being taken to the police station in nearby St. Eustache and beaten in the garage.

Police repression, however, has not succeeded in intimidating the Mohawks behind their barricades nor the residents of Oka — both Mohawk and non-Mohawk. Diane, a young Mohawk, pointed at the heavily armed police barricade and then up the hill to the Mohawk barricade. "I think this is going to provoke more Native struggles across the country," she said.

Natives across Canada have organized solidarity actions, including the setting up of several road blockades and a demonstration of 450 in Ottawa. And in Oka on July 13 about 40 residents held a candlelight march to show their support for Mohawks on the hill. Both Mohawks and French- and English-speaking non-Natives participated.

A poll by the Montréal daily *La Presse* showed that 53 percent of Montréal residents support the Mohawks' demands and 87 percent favor a negotiated settlement as opposed to more force being used against the Mohawks.

Mobs of up to 3,000 have gathered each night at the Mercier bridge, threatening to attack the Mohawk barricades, burning effigies of Mohawk warriors, and attacking several Blacks and Natives. Some in the crowd wave Québec flags and chant, "Québec aux Québécois" (Québec for Québécois). They

have called on the Canadian army to physically remove the Mohawk barricades.

Millie Greaves, a Black worker living in Chateauguay, came out to the bridge to support the Mohawks. She explained, "These racists are a radical minority. The Natives

have a right to block the bridge. If I have to travel out of my way to get to work to support the Natives, I will."

Several demonstrations of up to 300 in Montréal and one of 300 in Toronto have called for the withdrawal of Québec police

from Oka. Two protest actions are planned for Montréal on July 17 and July 18. And a group of 50 residents of Laval, just north of Montréal, are discussing sending a car cavalcade to Oka to demonstrate their support of the Mohawks at Kanesatake.

Miners rally to defend union in Britain

Continued from front page

"political purposes."

This charge was settled when president of the Soviet miners trade union, Vladimir Lunyov, reported that no money had been sent to the NUM. Interviewed on Independent Television July 11, Lunyov reported that donations were given in the form of food parcels, holidays for miners' children, and courses for trade union activists. No cash was transferred, he said.

Now, new allegations have emerged. Charges have been made that three documents submitted to the Lightman inquiry are forgeries. This week, a meeting of an NUM subcommittee with Lightman will consider further action in relation to his report.

And new avenues for continuing the anti-NUM campaign have been found with the decision of a Dublin court to give Roger Windsor, former chief executive of the NUM, permission to sue Scargill for libel. Windsor fronted the initial media allegations that Scargill and Heathfield had their fingers in the till.

Joining the public chorus against the NUM have been Deputy Prime Minister Geoffrey Howe, who said while standing in for Margaret Thatcher during the prime minister's question time, that he hoped the union would be investigated by the "appropriate authorities."

Robert Mellish, a former Labour chief whip and now a member of the House of Lords, said he had "nothing but contempt" for Scargill. Three Labour MPs — Kevin Barron, an ex-officio member of the NUM executive; Kim Howells, a former research officer for the NUM's South Wales Area; and David Blunkett, the party's spokesperson on the environment — also denounced Scargill and Heathfield. Trades Union Congress General Secretary Norman Willis sent the media the text of a letter he'd sent to Scargill over alleged money the NUM had received from Libya during the miners' strike of 1984-85.

Speakers at the Durham rally denounced the witch-hunt. Skinner condemned those within the labour movement who had joined with the media attacks. "I've even heard talk that some people in the labor movement want the police to inquire into our affairs. Which police? The ones who arrested the Guildford Four? The ones who put the Birmingham Six in jail? Or is it the police who kicked hell out of miners and their families during the strike — here in Durham, at Orgreave, and in every coalfield in Britain?"

Arthur Scargill explained that he "apologized to no one" for his real "crime" — protecting the union's funds from being sequestered by the courts during the 1984-85 strike. The union's national officials devised an intricate maze of 17 bank accounts inside and outside Britain. This even confounded the accounting firm Cork Gully that was working for Lightman and with whom the NUM leaders have cooperated. It was this

maze that foiled attempts by the court-appointed receiver to get his hands on the union's money.

The NUM president was greeted with chants of "Arthur Scargill, Arthur Scargill — we'll support you ever more" as he defended the decisions of the NUM national conference that had just concluded its business.

Scargill condemned the renewed program of mine closures that began immediately following British Coal's announcement of a further run-down of pits. This involves a cut of 7,500 jobs over the next three years. Already the closure of Agecroft colliery in Lancashire and Brodsworth in South Yorkshire have been announced, along with 200 job losses at Hatfield Main, also in South Yorkshire.

'Phase out nuclear industry'

The NUM president criticized the energy policy of governments over the last 30 years, which has resulted in increased reliance on nuclear power. "It's now been estimated that about 200,000 people will be killed as a result of Chernobyl," he said. "It's unnecessary, it's dangerous, it passes on genetically, and yet there are still some nuclear nuts in the Tory cabinet who want to see the nuclear industry expand. We want to see the nuclear industry phased out and an energy industry based primarily on coal, but also on alternative sources of energy such as wind, wave, tide, and solar power — all of them environmentally acceptable."

Scargill denounced those who used environmental arguments to justify the run-down of the coal industry. With modern technology, he explained, the contribution of coal-fired

power stations to the greenhouse effect could be reduced by 50 percent at the same time as increasing their efficiency by 80 percent.

Scargill reported the decision of the NUM conference to demand an increase of £50 (\$90) per week. "Miners who work in the bowels of the earth are worth £15,000 per year on a salary basis," he said. This won't be achieved by passing resolutions or by eloquent speeches. "We need to win the hearts and minds of our members by a campaign. If British Coal refuses to talk to us, to concede our legitimate demands, then the responsibility for any industrial action lies with the Tory government and British Coal, and we shouldn't shirk away from that in 1990," he said to applause.

North-East Area General Secretary Hopper reported that on the average basic pay amounted to just 54 percent of a miner's take home. Since 1985, he said, overtime put in by surface workers had doubled, and it has trebled for face workers.

In the same period, productivity bonuses have assumed a larger proportion of total wages, 30 percent on the average. The national incentive scheme has been broken down pit by pit, dividing miner from miner.

Since the end of the 1984-85 strike, there have been no negotiations between the NUM and British Coal over wages. British Coal has insisted on recognizing the antistrike breakaway organization called the Union of Democratic Mineworkers in its Nottinghamshire base, and derecognizing the NUM there, as a condition for conciliation. The conference decided by 44 votes to 21 to reject the board's conditions.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

July 25, 1980

Documents of the Justice Department and FBI made public July 2 disclose a systematic attempt by federal authorities to withhold information about illegal FBI burglaries against the Socialist Workers Party.

The new documents are a February 19 report from FBI Director William Webster to Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti, and a June 25 Justice Department document entitled "The Nondisclosure of FBI Bag Jobs in the Socialist Workers Party Civil Litigation."

They describe how Justice Department and FBI officials lied to government agencies, a federal court, and congressional committees in an effort to cover up for the FBI burglars.

FBI files that had been obtained by the SWP in the course of the party's suit against government harassment clearly showed that "bag jobs" against the SWP had been carried out repeatedly between 1960 and 1966.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

July 26, 1965

The Deacons of Defense and Justice in Bogalusa, Louisiana, a Negro self-defense organization, are facing increasing harassment, arrests, and moves by state police to disarm them while the civil rights workers they have sworn to protect continue to suffer physical attacks from whites under the very noses of local and state cops.

On July 19 Joe Gatlin, 26, a Bogalusa Negro resident, was booked by police on charges of "attempted murder." Police, who claim he is a member of the Deacons, say he fired shots at a carload of white nightriders. There were no injuries. It is not illegal in Louisiana to carry guns in autos, and Klansmen in the area do so as a matter of course. Gov. John McKeithen has announced that state troopers will disarm Negroes in cars and confiscate their guns.

Cancel Latin America's debt!

President George Bush's recent announcement of a "new economic partnership" between the United States and countries in the Caribbean and Latin America, promising to bring prosperity to the Western Hemisphere based on "trade, not aid," is neither new nor will it bring prosperity.

Bush outlined in vague terms a plan to reduce \$7 billion of the \$12 billion in loans to Latin American governments made by Washington. He also offered \$100 million toward the creation of a \$300 million investment fund for the region. The fund could only be used by countries that relax controls on investment and economic regulations and put state businesses up for sale.

Bush added that "free trade" agreements with countries that "demonstrate a commitment to economic reform, including trade and investment liberalization," would also be considered.

The Bush proposal is not a departure from the economic policies implemented in the past — such as the Caribbean Basin Initiative, the Baker plan, and the Brady plan — that have done little or nothing to alleviate the devastating social and economic crisis in the region. In fact, they have contributed to the crisis.

If implemented, the plan would reduce only a tiny fraction of the \$422 billion foreign debt of Latin America — 60

percent of which is owed to commercial banks in the United States, Europe, and Asia. The rest is owed to foreign governments and multinational lending agencies.

This huge debt has a stranglehold on any chance of real economic growth in countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Between 1980 and 1988, for example, Latin American "debtors" sent \$572.2 billion to creditors in North America alone. They still owe twice as much as originally borrowed.

Bush's proposal for more loans would only help tighten the noose, not loosen it. Nor does it offer any concrete solutions to alter the fact that Latin American countries have to pay constantly higher prices for goods imported from the advanced industrialized countries while their exports fetch lower prices on the world market.

Any plan that does not have as its starting point the cancellation of all of the foreign debt, far from bringing prosperity to the region, will only exacerbate the devastating economic and social crisis facing tens of millions of people in these countries.

Working people in the United States and around the world should condemn Washington's policies in Latin America and demand: Cancel the foreign debt of all Third World countries now!

TB rears its ugly head again

Tuberculosis (TB), a disease that is both curable and preventable, is a re-emerging threat to public health in the United States. This is directly related to the shift in the spread of AIDS to the poorest and most oppressed layers of the population.

While cases of TB steadily declined in the 1960s and '70s, the spread of the disease abruptly began to rise in the mid-1980s. The number of new cases in the United States rose 5 percent in 1989 over the previous year, to 23,495, about 9,000 more cases than projected by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control at the beginning of the 1980s.

The number of new cases last year increased 10 percent in New York City to 2,545, and 35 percent in Newark, New Jersey, to 207. The largest increases in TB cases have been among Black and Latino youth in the inner cities.

People infected with the AIDS virus are unusually susceptible to TB and account for 20 to 30 percent of the country's TB cases. Anchored in this layer of the population, TB then spreads to others who are not infected with the AIDS virus, but suffer from weak immune systems caused by malnutrition, poor health care and disease prevention, substandard housing or homelessness, abuse of drugs and alcohol, and a higher rate of other infections and illnesses.

Public health officials estimate that healthy individuals would have to be exposed to someone with active TB eight hours a day for six weeks to develop a 50 percent chance of

being infected. Even after infection, healthy people are generally able to resist the germs, which then lay dormant producing no symptoms unless the immune system breaks down.

TB has virtually been eradicated in better-off sections of the population where higher living and health standards have substantially reduced the risk of infection. This explains the low rate of TB cases among middle-class gay men who are infected with the AIDS virus.

It costs only about \$70 for a full six-month treatment of drugs to cure TB. Testing for TB infection is also inexpensive and simple.

Government budget cutbacks over the last decade have severely impaired or eliminated programs to combat TB, not to mention cuts in other public health programs, housing, and aid to the poor.

These reductions, combined with the effects of the employers' offensive against the unions over the last decade, have steadily deteriorated the overall living conditions of working people. The poor, especially Blacks and Latinos, have been hardest hit and are the most vulnerable to breakdowns in the public health system.

As capitalism enters greater crisis, this situation will worsen. This is the prospect the richest advanced capitalist country in the world offers its working people.

Ballot rights and political space

Supporters of Socialist Workers Party election campaigns are undertaking important efforts to get the party's candidates on the ballot in a number of states and Washington, D.C. The SWP is running slates for state and federal offices in the November elections.

Because of undemocratic and restrictive laws, getting a working-class party's candidates on the ballot requires substantial human and financial resources: collecting thousands of signatures on petitions, paying filing fees, and following every jot and tittle of the complex procedures.

The most extensive effort under way is in New York. Supporters have fanned out across the state to gather 30,000 signatures to place the party's candidates for governor and other statewide offices on the ballot.

In Alabama, Iowa, New Jersey, Utah, Michigan, Minnesota, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere petitioning is also under way or has been completed. In states such as North Carolina and California, where onerous requirements preclude getting the SWP ticket on the ballot, campaigners are collecting signatures so candidates have official write-in status.

During these petitioning drives supporters reach out to thousands of working people, youth, and other democratic-minded individuals in unions, at schools, and on the streets with the proposals of the socialist campaign.

At the heart of this is the fight for democratic rights, to break down the discriminatory laws, and for the legality and political legitimacy of workers' organizations.

The capitalist rulers of the United States and their two parties — Democrats and Republicans — continually attempt to restrict the political elbowroom of working-class organizations, including the SWP. Throughout the years working people have waged important battles to establish the legal right to organize unions and other political organizations, and for political space in which to function. These efforts have pushed back the government's ability to spy on, harass, intimidate, and blackball activists and to break up

their organizations.

Defending these conquests — and pushing forward where possible to conquer new rights and freedoms — is an essential part of advancing the struggle of working people. The employers and their government are constantly probing, seeking to make the activity of working-class parties, the unions, organizations fighting for Black and women's rights, and groups opposed to U.S. wars and intervention around the world appear to be on the fringe, outside of the rule of law, or just plain illegal.

By petitioning and mobilizing support for the right to be on the ballot, the SWP and its supporters deal a blow to undemocratic election laws, assert the party's legal right to exist and function in politics, and raise the party's legitimacy in the eyes of working people.

The same is true of the battle to get the federal government to restore the right of the party to withhold the names of contributors to its election campaigns.

The Federal Election Commission has taken away the party's exemption from the 1971 law that made disclosures of these names mandatory. Campaign committee reports to the FEC are public record. As such, they are an easy source of hit lists for the government, private spy agencies, and other antilabor outfits.

The move by the FEC is an attack on democratic rights. It flies in the face of recent court rulings, such as the decision last year by the U.S. District Court in Florida. The court noted that U.S. Supreme Court decisions "clearly stated that the First Amendment prohibits compelled disclosure of contributors' or recipients' names if the revelation would subject them to harassment from either government or private parties."

Both the fight for ballot status and the fight to regain the disclosure exemption need the support of working people, youth, and other democratic-minded people everywhere. Victories in these efforts will be gains for the ability of all to openly function and engage in political activity.

Fight for shorter working day and voluntary labor

BY DOUG JENNESS

In a letter in our last issue, reader Bronson Rozier suggested that the article, "Cuba: A new way of organizing labor" (June 8 *Militant*), could lead to "a misunderstanding." Many readers he wrote, "May be unfamiliar with the legacy of poverty that imperialism left Cuban working people. The necessity of Cubans volunteering for such an extreme schedule as 14-hour days, six days a week might not be apparent.

"Many workers," Rozier continued, "might have the reaction, 'If this is what socialism is all about, then capitalism will do just fine, thank you.'"

The danger, he warned, is that workers might think the long work days of volunteer workers in Cuba, which he says are a "necessary evil," are the "goal and destiny of

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

socialism, when in fact the goal of socialism is to shorten the working day to allow the individual to develop his or her potential in other ways as well as through their work."

It may be true that our article, which dealt with some aspects of voluntary labor in Cuba, might have been unclear, but unfortunately Rozier's explanation has not helped set things right. In fact, there are some serious problems in his presentation. It is not true that "the goal of socialism" is to shorten the working day, nor is it true to imply that voluntary labor is only necessary for the transition to socialism in countries with a semicolonial legacy.

Under capitalism chronic unemployment and periodic recessions throw millions out of work. New technology and machinery eliminate jobs for many, while speeding up work for others. Tens of millions are unemployed or are only partially employed; yet a great many other workers are forced to work overtime.

Moreover, each hour longer workers labor, the greater is the wealth appropriated by the employers for their own personal consumption or privately determined investments. Decisions about how the vast wealth created by social labor will be distributed and used are made according to what will best increase the profit rates of a few exploiters, not the social interests of the great majority.

The struggle for a shorter workweek, which would spread the available work to more workers with no reduction in pay, is aimed at protecting workers from the ravages of the capitalist system as its crises deepen. Along with similar demands — such as cost-of-living increases in wages, benefits, and pensions — the call for the reduced workweek also serves to unite and mobilize working people in a struggle that can help prepare the way for challenging capitalist rule.

However, in a society where capitalist political rule has been overturned and private ownership of basic industry is replaced with state ownership, a totally new situation emerges.

For the first time, the opportunity exists to organize production and distribution according to conscious decision and planning. This means that working people can determine how much of the social product, produced by our labor, should be used for social needs — medical care, education, transportation, parks, and so on — and how much should be reinvested in economic development.

At the same time, the concept of work is different. Instead of producing gigantic profits for the ruling rich, in addition to our own subsistence, every increase in labor productivity and the total social product is at the service of society.

V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the October 1917 Russian revolution, explained in a 1919 article promoting voluntary labor, "Communism begins when the rank-and-file workers begin to display a self-sacrificing concern that is undaunted by arduous toil, for increasing the productivity of labor, for husbanding every pound of grain, coal, iron, and other products, which do not accrue to the workers personally or to their 'close' kith and kin, but to their 'distant' kith and kin, i.e. to society as a whole, to tens and hundreds of millions of people united first in one socialist state, and then in a Union of Soviet Republics."

The greater is workers' social and political consciousness, the more they will recognize that the goal of communists is to help raise the living standards and welfare of humanity. Working people in North America, capitalist Europe, and Japan, where economic development and living standards are relatively higher than the rest of the world, will face a special obligation. When capitalist rule is overturned in these countries, politically inspired workers by the millions will volunteer to work extra hours without additional financial compensation in order to help overcome the huge economic gap that exists in the world.

Rozier seems to imply that voluntary labor in Cuba is in reality forced because of Cuba's history of oppression. But working 14-hour days and six-day weeks is not "extreme" for workers who are no longer compelled by physical necessity to sell themselves as commodities, as they are under capitalism, and consciously see their work as the full realization of themselves and fulfillment of their social duties.

GE's layoffs, plant relocations aim to bust union

BY RICHARD GAETA

GIBBSBORO, New Jersey — In April, General Electric, the third-largest U.S. military contractor, announced it would lay off 4,200 workers in its aerospace division by 1992. Last year GE Aerospace eliminated 4,775 jobs, although it reported profits of \$640 million.

There are six GE plants here in the Delaware Valley. Of these, three of the four union-organized plants will be hardest hit by the layoffs. The Moorestown and Gibbsboro

plants, represented by the International Union of Electronic Workers Local 106, are scheduled to lose 1,070 jobs. The plant in Camden, New Jersey, organized by IUE Local 103, is slated to lose 800 jobs.

The company's owners say they need layoffs to compete on a global basis and because of a shrinking Pentagon budget. Yet, GE is planning on opening two new plants, one in Conklin, New York, and the other in Gloucester County, New Jersey. Each plant will employ 500 workers. But, GE spokesman Jim Tierney said, "many of the jobs were not interchangeable with jobs in Camden and Moorestown."

Jack Frohbieter, vice-president of GE's Government Electronic Systems Division, said, "It was determined that the needs of the business could best be served by constructing a stand-alone facility that wasn't closely aligned with any nearby existing plant. This factor was important because the aim is to establish a plant structure much different from an existing GE plant environment."

By "much different," GE management means nonunion. GE's union-busting plans are not new. In March GE closed

its plant in Cicero, Illinois, where 1,200 workers made refrigerators. It is making them instead in Decatur, Alabama, where it pays nonunion workers \$4 an hour less than workers earned at the Illinois plant.

The company's announcement has angered many workers. A common question asked is, "Why are they going to lay us off when they have been hiring for the past six months?" While GE has been decimating its Camden plant for several years, it has been hiring new workers at its Moorestown and Gibbsboro facilities. Many new workers were told they would have secure jobs. The company says it needs new hires to get its orders out on time. What it does not say is that it's cheaper to hire workers at 75 percent of top rate and then, when the company has dispensed its orders, dispense with the workers too.

At the Jersey plants we build the Aegis radar system for the U.S. Navy. In a bid to keep the navy from awarding a portion of the contract to Westinghouse, IUE officials and the Engineers Association spent \$250,000 lobbying Congress.

Although Westinghouse will not get the Aegis contract, GE is planning to subcontract our work to nonunion plants in the United States and Mexico. In a formal letter sent to various politicians, our union leadership argues against subcontracting union work because the work may be done by "inexperienced" workers, making it questionable whether it will lower GE's costs. Finally, the letter argues that U.S. "defense" work should be built by U.S. workers.

I disagree with this line of argumentation, which weakens the main point: GE is trying to bust our union, and only through solidarity with other fighters, including Mexican workers, can we defeat the company's plans.

Mexican workers are as capable as we are of learning how to solder and assemble. Mexicans have rights to jobs

too. Mexican workers are not responsible for layoffs — multinational corporations are.

Moreover, because wages are far lower in Mexico than in the United States, U.S.-based firms will continue to flock to Mexico. We should demand that Mexican workers get union wages. We have no interest in lowering GE's costs since we do not benefit from cost-saving schemes — only the owners do.

Finally, the idea that we are building a secret weapon to help defend our interests is false. The Aegis was used to shoot down a commercial Iranian Airbus. For GE's owners "defense" of the United States is defense of GE and other giant corporations, not defense of working people. Besides, GE makes Aegis for profit, so it sells it to governments making the highest bids, many of which are especially repressive.

Making the new plant in Gloucester County a union plant will be our fight. GE wants to pick and choose which former workers it will rehire at the new plant. But we should be offered those jobs. Why should we pay for GE's restructuring?

While some of us are being laid off in Camden, others of us are working overtime at the other plants. Instead of overtime we should work 30 hours for 40 hours pay and make the company put our brothers and sisters from Camden back to work and spread evenly the available work.

One coworker summed up the attitude of many workers when he said, "Let's go down to the new plant with pickets from locals 103 and 106 when they begin construction and let the public know that we are going to fight to keep GE union."

Richard Gaeta is a member of IUE Local 106 and works at GE's Gibbsboro, New Jersey, plant

UNION TALK

plants, represented by the International Union of Electronic Workers Local 106, are scheduled to lose 1,070 jobs. The plant in Camden, New Jersey, organized by IUE Local 103, is slated to lose 800 jobs.

The company's owners say they need layoffs to compete on a global basis and because of a shrinking Pentagon budget. Yet, GE is planning on opening two new plants, one in Conklin, New York, and the other in Gloucester County, New Jersey. Each plant will employ 500 workers. But, GE spokesman Jim Tierney said, "many of the jobs were not interchangeable with jobs in Camden and Moorestown."

Jack Frohbieter, vice-president of GE's Government Electronic Systems Division, said, "It was determined that the needs of the business could best be served by constructing a stand-alone facility that wasn't closely aligned with any nearby existing plant. This factor was important because the aim is to establish a plant structure much different from an existing GE plant environment."

By "much different," GE management means nonunion. GE's union-busting plans are not new. In March GE closed

LETTERS

Child abuse

I would like to take exception to your July 13 editorial "An Abuse of the Bill of Rights." I think there are several misleading statements in it.

Child abuse is more than just a crime; it is a social phenomenon that includes overt abuse, rape, and murder as well as psychological and emotional abuse that is covert. It is this phenomenon that is the source of the "popular revulsion and indignation" that you cite; it is not created by the press and courts as you assert.

Also it is not "the character of the crime" that justifies using closed-circuit television in court trials, but the necessity to protect children from the abusive tricks of lawyers schooled in "trial by combat" methods of confrontation and intimidation to defend their clients.

Twisting the truth and lying are not natural to children; they are the "tools of the trade" of cops, judges, prosecution and defense attorneys, the press and the exploiting class they serve. Children must be protected if the truth is going to come out in a criminal trial, which is the point of confronting your accusers, after all.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the women's movement and other groups, professionals, and individuals have taken up this issue; bookstores are full of many good books on this phenomenon, and I hope that you will take a longer look at this issue.

*Kenneth Knudsen, Sr.
San Francisco, California*

Hunger strike

José Manuel Sevillano, aged 30, died while on a hunger strike in Madrid May 25. He was one of 60 members of GRAPO (Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups — First of October) who started a hunger strike in Spanish jails on Nov. 30, 1989.

Sevillano died of starvation despite being fed intravenously. Fourteen others are said to be in danger of death. Thirty-eight remain on strike. On occasion they have been tied down to prevent them from removing the intravenous drips.

The strikers demand the right to be kept together in two prisons — one for women and one for men. They have been dispersed in ones and twos since 1988. Together they feel they would be better able to maintain their morale against abuses

by the authorities.

The evening of May 25 small demonstrations were held in several cities. In Pamplona 200 people stoned a police car and a young man was wounded when the cops fired into the crowd.

Spanish Minister of Justice Enrique Múgica said, "The government is not responsible for his death. Those responsible are the organization and its cothinkers who take their views into the prisons." He said there would be no change of government policy.

*Mike Eude
Barcelona, Spain*

Makes me feel red

Pardon my bad etiquette in writing in red ink, but the color does reflect how I feel: *red*. My cousin is getting the wrong views concerning a few issues and events in the struggle. So I would like to have this paper reach him at my expense. Being that I am a prisoner, I am enclosing \$4 for a subscription to *Union City, New Jersey*.

He's Cuban and doesn't understand what Cuba stands for, much less Fidel [Castro], its political leader and a real friend to the cause — the right cause and the Black cause.

*A prisoner
Elmira, New York*

TV Martí

The U.S. embassy in London refused to meet with a delegation of trade union and political leaders to protest Washington's aggression against Cuba, so the Britain Cuba Resource Centre is presenting the U.S. officials with a statement demanding that TV Martí be abandoned, the economic blockade of Cuba be lifted, and Washington normalize relations between the two countries.

Forty Labour Party members of Parliament, six members of the European Parliament, the general secretaries of several of the largest unions here, the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, and Bishop Trevor Huddleston — leader of the Anti-Apartheid movement — are among the 2,000 signers of the protest.

A June meeting of the House of Commons heard from Roberto de Armas, representing the Cuban embassy, who called TV Martí the "world's first ever invisible TV sta-



tion." The Cubans have successfully jammed its transmissions from Miami.

"It is vital," read a message from miners' union Peter Heathfield, that the labor movement "expresses firm solidarity with the Cuban people and the Cuban revolution. Their achievements have inspired the rest of the world."

*Celia Pugh
London, England*

Philippines

Now that Uncle Sam has been forced to flee the Philippines with his tail between his legs (the evacuation of the Peace Corps to Hawaii), can you print a full front-page story on how the United States stole the Philippines, is responsible for subjecting the Filipino people to unconscionable injustice, and has used the CIA to murder anyone courageous enough to stand up to American imperialism and brutality?

*A reader
Minneapolis, Minnesota*

Israeli resisters

On May 30, along with 150 others, I heard Steven Langfur speak at Emory University in Atlanta. Langfur was representing Yesh Gvul, an organization of Israeli soldiers who refuse to serve in the army occupying the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The name in Hebrew means "there is a limit."

Currently 111 Yesh Gvul members are jailed in Israel for refusing to obey orders. Langfur himself was recently released from prison. Often the jail terms are of indefinite dura-

tion and the resisters may lose their jobs or be ostracized by the community.

Langfur, who emigrated to Israel from this country in 1977, was a conscientious objector during the Vietnam War. His support for the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza evaporated with the beginning of the Palestinian uprising — the *intifada* — in December 1987. "The intifada was a grand assertion of humanity by people who had nothing to lose," he said. "I saw them as human beings because they stood up."

Yesh Gvul supports the demand for a sovereign Palestinian state and calls on the Israeli government to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

*Marla Puziss
Atlanta, Georgia*

Pathfinder Mural

"That's beautiful!" "A wonderful depiction of Mandela!" These are the type of comments we heard all day at the Oakland Coliseum on June 30 — the day Nelson Mandela came here — as we hawked the poster of Mandela's portrait on the Pathfinder Mural.

More than 60 people bought the poster and another 50 bought postcards of the Mandela portrait, which was painted by Dumile Feni, himself a member of the African National Congress. A total of \$560 was raised to support the six-story New York mural. Hundreds of brochures describing the mural were handed out, and many people were impressed by the project.

The posters and other materials

were distributed by three teams, each with one person wearing the poster mounted on heavy paper around their neck. Others held up the brochures and yelled into the enormous crowd to let people know they could get a copy of the posters in perfect condition. The 60,000 people that came to hear Mandela kept us very busy — overwhelmed usually.

The posters are now being sold by several bookstores in San Francisco and Oakland, including the two Pathfinder bookstores, Modern Times, The Poster Mat, Prince Neville's Reggae Runnins, Diluvian Bookshop, Tolodumare African Center, Galleria de la Raza, the Arabic Book Center, and Bay Bridge Bookstore.

*Ruth Cheney
Oakland, California*

Murdered?

It's been nearly a year now since a fellow prisoner here at the Louisiana State Penitentiary was murdered by several prison guards. The authorities claim it was suicide.

Although the state has long since ended its perfunctory probe of the matter, the family and friends of Johnny Augustine continue to work to demand that the body be exhumed to determine whether it was as maimed as the funeral home embalmer stated it was.

"It's unusual," the embalmer said. "When you hang yourself, you break your neck. But his back was broken, too."

With your assistance in reporting on this case, we might be able to focus the needed national publicity on the matter.

*A prisoner
Angola, Louisiana*

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

17 die in Arco Chemical plant blast

Oil and chemical unionists respond to industry's declining safety

BY KATY KARLIN

HOUSTON — An explosion at a wastewater treatment facility at an Arco Chemical plant in Channelview, outside of Houston, killed 17 workers on July 5.

It was the seventh serious accident in Houston's oil and chemical industry within 30 days, and the country's deadliest industrial accident since an Oct. 23, 1989, Phillips chemical plant explosion left 23 dead. The Phillips plant, in Pasadena, Texas, lies just across the Houston Ship Channel from Arco Chemical.

The Arco facility (Arco Chemical is a subsidiary of Atlantic Richfield) is a non-union plant that employs 250 workers. A tank containing plant wastewater, including flammable hydrocarbons, ignited as a nearby compressor was being started up. Witnesses heard screaming and saw workers climbing over the fence in an attempt to escape. Houses in the community rattled, shattering windows. The blast was felt 10 miles away and an orange glow hung over the plant.

One Arco worker, upon being assured that the company would provide counseling in the aftermath of the tragedy, said, "I don't need counseling. I need a job that won't kill me. They won't see me in that place again."

Five of the workers killed were employed by Arco Chemical, 11 by Austin Industries, Inc., a labor contracting company, and one was a truck driver for Waste Processor Industries, Inc.

According to the *Houston Post*, Lori Davis, the wife of one of the contract workers who was killed, received a phone call from her husband shortly before the blast. He had worked 17 hours that day but was being forced to stay until he and other workers had started the compressor. He told her he didn't think the compressor was safe for startup. Davis said, but, "They wouldn't know until they cranked it up."

"I told all I knew to the other victims' families, although I think Arco wanted to hush me up," Davis said. "All the company did was give us some food and tell us a bunch of bull about their not having any control over it."

The day after the explosion a group of community environmental organizations held a news conference at the Arco gate condemning the company for negligence. Anthony Mazzocchi, secretary-treasurer of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, spoke, noting the alarming increase in recent disasters in the industry.



Arco Chemical facility following devastating July 5 explosion

The Arco incident occurred at the same time a discussion is taking place within the OCAW about safety. Two weeks before the explosion, more than 300 Houston-area OCAW members, along with community and environmental activists, viewed the premiere screening of *Out of Control!* at the OCAW Local 4-367 union hall.

A video narrated by consumer activist Ralph Nader, *Out of Control!* was produced by the OCAW in the wake of the Phillips disaster. It places the blame for the rise in accidents on the oil companies' greed for profits.

In the early 1980s, when prices for crude fell dramatically, big oil went through a "financial restructuring" in order to increase profits. This meant cutting back on labor costs and on maintenance. Half the refineries in the country were closed, and although today production is back up, these plants have never been reopened.

The result is refineries with streamlined work forces and aging equipment operating at unprecedented levels of production.

"It's like the wild, wild West when you enter those gates anymore," one oil worker said in the video.

The fines against the oil and chemical companies have been light. After charging

Phillips and Fish Engineering, a contract company, with 747 safety violations contributing to the October 1989 explosion, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration fined Phillips \$5.6 million, or about 2 percent of the corporation's 1989 profits.

In the video the OCAW puts forward a seven-point proposal for increased plant safety. Among them is the demand that "contract workers be subjected to the same standards as regular employees."

Protecting rights of contract workers

The case for protecting the rights of contract workers marks a shift in the discussion within the OCAW. Earlier the union leadership's solution centered on getting the contract workers out of the plants. About 40,000 workers hired by contracting companies work in oil refineries throughout the country.

Contract workers are inadequately trained in chemical safety, and their injuries are not included in the companies' accident reports. Often they are very young or immigrant workers and they are routinely assigned the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs. They make up to \$6 an hour less than fulltime company employees, often with no benefits.

Unlike union workers, contract workers do not have the option of turning down an

unsafe assignment. "You basically do just what you are told," one worker in the video said. "And the supervisor will tell you, 'If you don't like it, we've got a dozen more out there that will take the job.'"

Katy Karlin is a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227 and an operator at Lyondell Petrochemical, a subsidiary of Atlantic Richfield.

Union video presents 7-point program to enforce industry safety

Out of Control! can be purchased from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, P.O. Box 2812, Denver, Colo. 80201. The union is planning to show the video widely to union locals, community, and civic organizations. In Houston members of the Phillips victims' families plan to give presentations with the video.

The OCAW's seven-point program presented in the video is:

• We demand that companies make public all hazard and risk assessments prepared by the industry and its insurers.

• We demand that workers be empowered to inspect . . . monitor . . . verify . . . and, if necessary, halt the operation of any process that presents an imminent threat to life and health.

• We demand that all workers have the right to refuse unsafe work without threat of intimidation or retaliation by employers.

• We demand that acts of corporate concealment, reckless endangerment, or attempts to silence whistleblowers be treated as criminal acts.

• We demand new laws requiring stringent training, maintenance and operating procedures, honest recordkeeping, and state-of-the-art engineering design and process controls.

• We demand that business be required to insure workers the loss of all wages arising from the destruction or condemnation of a facility.

• Finally, we demand that contract workers be subjected to the same standards as regular employees . . . including training, safety, experience requirements, health monitoring, and recordkeeping."

To enforce these demands will take a struggle by union members along with contract workers, environmental activists, and members of the communities that surround oil and chemical plants.

Dairy strikers seek union, pay raise

BY MATT HERRESHOFF

ZILLAH, Washington — "A contract is our goal," said Carlos, one of 40 milkers on strike at the Cow Palace/Springer One dairy farm here.

"They are the biggest and worst paying in the state," said Pablo. With over 4,000 cows, the dairy farm is the fourth largest in the United States.

"He hasn't given a raise in 10 years," said Javier, a young worker. "In fact, he's cut wages." Cuco, who has worked there for 12 years, explained that until 1985 workers started at \$49 a day and earned \$54 a day after three months. Today, workers start at the minimum wage. After two weeks they get \$44 a day; \$49 a day after one year; and \$54 a day after three years.

Several workers explained that they are not just fighting for a raise, but "so everyone is paid equally."

The strike began on July 6. More than two months earlier, the workers began to organize themselves and went to the United Farm Workers of Washington State (UFWWS) for

aid. "We had been hearing about this union for a long, long time," said Carlos.

The UFWWS responded by organizing a series of meetings where the workers formulated their demands and planned their strategy. When the owner refused to negotiate, the strike began.

This is the first time the four-year-old UFWWS has been able to prepare a strike in this way. The more than 20 other strikes the UFWWS has helped lead all began spontaneously, when groups of workers, fed up with intolerable conditions, walked off the job.

In addition to demanding union recognition, the strikers are protesting other attacks by the employer. "He crucified us when he took away our ability to change shifts," said Javier. The strikers worked eight hours a day, six days a week, on all three shifts. Previously they could trade shifts if they wanted a day off.

The company installed video cameras to spy on the workers. "If they saw two workers talking, they'd tell us to 'move it,' like we were prisoners," said Carlos. Several workers

told how the supervisor and one of the foremen would physically threaten workers.

"They always push us to hurry," said Pedro. He and others explained how this leads to injuries when workers are trampled by cows, or cows trample each other. Workers told how they were not allowed to take lunch and break periods.

The farm's owner, Bob Dolsen, has hired a crew of antiunion security guards, digging ditches along the roadside to impede picketing, and telling the strikers they are fired. Other big-business farmers have driven by to harass the strikers, some throwing firecrackers.

So far, Dolsen has had little success in recruiting scabs. Most of those he recruited have been turned away by the union's picket line. Some explained that they had not been told a strike was on; others told pickets how Dolsen was offering them \$64 a day.

Messages of solidarity and other support can be sent to: UFWWS, P.O. Box 899, Granger, Wash. 98932; telephone: (509) 854-2161.